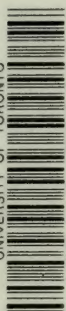


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MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW WORLD

BY

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VOLUME XXIII

OF

A HISTORY OF ALL NATIONS

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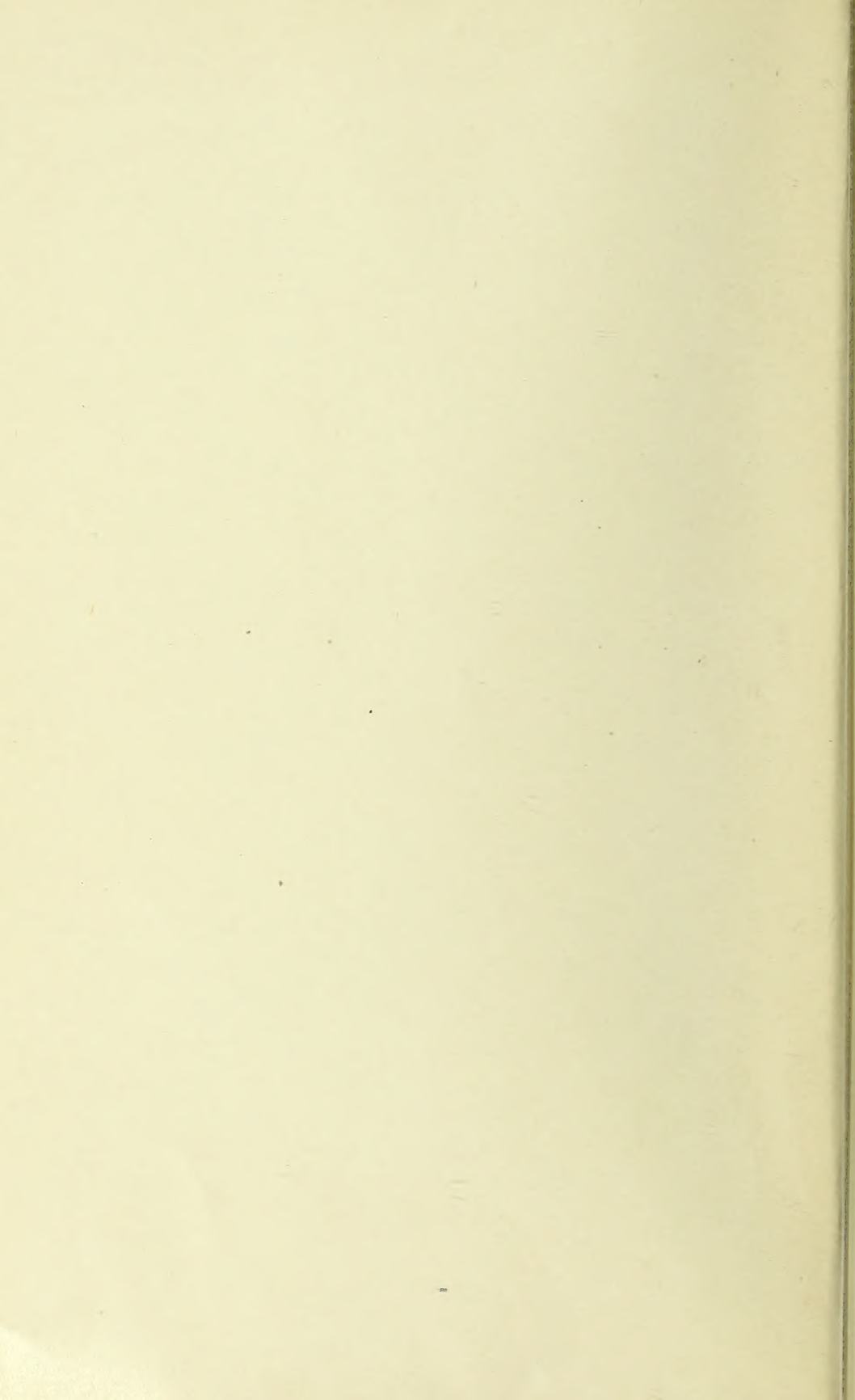
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MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

WESTWARD HO!

ONE of the most instructive subjects of historical study is the relation sustained by the advancing frontier of civilization to the outer barbarism by which it is confronted, together with the effects wrought upon the political life of the community by the peculiar conditions of life on the frontier. Much light, for example, is thrown upon the history of Europe when we consider it in its relations to its ever-receding eastern frontier as well as to its exposed points on the north and south. On its northern frontier, the Roman empire had to deal with a series of waves of assimilable barbarism in the shape of Celts, Teutons, and Scandinavians. One after another these peoples were civilized and assimilated, though the process entailed here and there serious disturbances to the general progress, more especially when Christian Britain was carried back for a couple of centuries to heathenism. On its southern frontier, mediaeval Europe had to deal with an unprogressive type of civilization in the Saracens; while on the east there was always, until the comparatively recent growth of Russia, an immense danger from successive invasions of unassimilable barbarism from the days of the Huns and Parthians down to the time of the Ottoman Turks. The change from Roman Europe to the Europe of to-day has been slowly wrought under centuries of this fierce, persistent pressure at the edges; and it has profoundly modified the conditions of life, not only on those edges, but throughout the entire area. Where the turmoil has been too great, it has brought about disorganization, as in the case of the once glorious commonwealth of Poland. Throughout Central Europe its effects were shown in the feudal system, in the delay of completed nationality everywhere east of France, and in the subsequent growth of despotic monarchy in most of the instances where nationality was attained. The beneficent effects of the geographical

position of the British Islands have often been remarked. Situated upon the northern frontier, accessible to attack only by sea, and from barbarism of assimilable type, we find England by the eleventh century entering upon a career of almost undisturbed political progress ; we find the attainment of nationality going hand in hand with the preservation of self-government. The contrasted experience of the peoples of Great Britain with that of their next neighbors and cousins, the people of the Netherlands, furnishes an excellent commentary upon the historic importance of the English Channel. That neither the high political life of Great Britain nor that of the Netherlands could have been attained in the geographical position of Poland, which had to serve for centuries as a buffer against eastern barbarism, is so obvious as scarcely to need mention.

If we turn our attention to North America, we find the phenomena very much simpler. Here the struggle with barbarism has been sufficiently fierce to have written many a lurid chapter in our history, from the days of the Pequot war down to the destruction of the gallant Custer and his men ; but it has never, as in Europe, put any serious strain upon the resources of civilization. There was never a time when putting down the Indians required a military force that could in any wise threaten the liberties of white men. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the political and social life of the United States has been profoundly affected by the circumstances of the ever-shifting border between the civilized world of the white man and the red man's wilderness. This effect of the frontier might have begun to be noticed as soon as population had advanced far enough inland to have its western ranks lose touch with its ranks upon the seaboard. In the days of Bacon's rebellion, the Virginia frontier exposed to Indian attack was in the neighborhood of Richmond ; while in Massachusetts at the same time, Deerfield and Hadley were remote frontier towns. Nevertheless, in neither of these cases had the frontier type of society begun to exist, because the people of Massachusetts and Virginia still kept in pretty close touch with the people of England. There was a perpetual going back and forth across the Atlantic. Houses were built with timbers brought from the old country ; clothes were made in London ; furniture was brought thence ; people read English books, and were deeply interested in the latest debates in Parliament. So long as the circulation of ideas and interests was thus kept up all the way from London and Edinburgh to the westernmost fringe of our seaboard communities, we cannot point to an American frontier life as something distinct and characteristic.

But as soon as we get a population cut off from the seashore, absorbed in the occupations and interests of its own inland territory and presenting manners and habits and social ideals different from those of the seaboard people, then we find the true American frontier life beginning. It is always difficult to say just when anything begins; but I suppose we shall not go far wrong in taking our start with the arrival of Palatine Germans in the Mohawk valley, and of Scotch-Irish and Germans in the Appalachian region, toward the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The farmers of the Mohawk country and those who first wielded their axes and spades in the smiling valley of Virginia were our first true Westerners; men who differed slightly from their brethren on the seacoast, while the nature of their occupations tended to strengthen and increase the points of difference, while their attention was greatly absorbed by the wilderness and was but seldom vividly directed toward things beyond the sea.

It is almost too obvious to need remark that this inland type of society would come to diverge from the European type somewhat more than its neighbors of the older settlements on the coast. It would be more distinctively American and would feel itself to be so. It is also pretty obvious that it would be a more democratic kind of society. The conditions of life on a wilderness frontier call for very similar kinds of employment on the part of all members of the community; the gentleman must pull off his coat and wield his axe side by side with the navvy, and many of the conventionalities of an older society will be disregarded. Thus there will rapidly grow up a feeling on the part of older communities that the newer ones are crude and unstylish, and this feeling will be resented by the members of the newer communities. They will settle the score with interest by calling their censors dudes and Anglomaniacs, feeble creatures destitute of true American qualities.

Not only does difference of occupation tend to make the inland population more democratic, but the particular origin and composition of that population in America tended toward the same result. Among our earlier settlers, more especially in New England, New York, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, there was a considerable proportion of families who belonged to the aristocracy and gentry of the Old World. Their ideas and habits had not been democratic before they crossed the ocean, and did not become so afterward. Even in New England, where government by town meeting seemed to furnish an extremely democratic type politically, there was far from being a social democracy in the modern sense. Until 1773 the names of students at

Harvard were printed in the catalogue not in the order of the alphabet, but in that of social precedence; and those who came highest on the list had the best choice of rooms, and divers other privileges. No one would have thought of such a thing as addressing a married lady as "Mrs." unless her husband happened to be an Esquire, and the title of "Esquire" was as narrowly guarded as the prefix "Sir" for a knight in England. The ordinary style for the lady whose husband was not an Esquire was "Goody," an abbreviation of "Good wife." So, too, with regard to dress. Those were the days when the gentleman wore his crimson velvet doublet with point-lace collar, while the workmen dressed in a coarse gray or brown cloth; and among the women the most gaily attired on a Sunday were not the servant-girls. Or consider the ultra-democratic notion of rotation in office. In colonial New England, when you had elected a young man of thirty for town clerk or town treasurer, in all probability you would keep him in that office until he was seventy or eighty. The idea that public offices were like sugar-plums, to be evenly divided among all greedy comers, had not entered people's minds. If we turn our attention to the patroons of New York, the manorial lords of Maryland, or the great planters of Virginia and South Carolina, we find perhaps even fewer democratic features.

In the case of our first Western population, however, we find the prevailing conception of life more democratic. This appears to have been alike true of the Scotch-Irish and the Palatinate Germans. In the case of the former, there was a special reason for their being democrats by theory as well as by instinct. They were, in the main, Presbyterians whose ancestors had migrated from Scotland, where their church was established, to Ireland, where it was persecuted by illiberal acts of Parliament. Consequently these Scotch-Irish Presbyterians were Liberals; they believed in the separation of church from state. Moreover, they were prepared to revolt against English customs; they were indeed afflicted with a species of Anglophobia.

Now the eighteenth century was especially a period of reaction against political despotism and social privilege, and this reaction found its chief literary expression in France. The doctrines of Rousseau mark the intensity of the rising protest against the old régime. The mind of Thomas Jefferson was influenced by such ideas, although the extent to which he was indebted to France for his ideas has been greatly exaggerated by careless writers. After the Declaration of Independence, the work of Jefferson consisted for a few years chiefly in the introduction of sundry reforms into Virginia. For example, the system of

entail was deeply rooted in the affections of many of the old Virginia families ; but a bill introduced by Jefferson in October, 1776, overthrew it. All entailed estates at once became estates in fee simple, and could be bought and sold, or attached for debt, like other property. This sweeping reform won for Jefferson the vindictive hatred of divers aristocrats, some of whom were cruel enough to point to the death of his only son as a divine judgment which he had brought upon himself by his impious disregard of the sacred rights of family. But the reformer did not stop here. He next assailed primogeniture and presently overthrew it. Other reforms proposed by Jefferson and ultimately carried out were the limitation of the death penalty to the two crimes of murder and treason, and the abolition of imprisonment for debt. He was an earnest advocate of the abolition of slavery, but realized that there was no hope of carrying through the legislature any measures to that end. He did, however, in 1778, bring in a bill prohibiting the further importation of slaves into Virginia, and carried it without serious opposition. The relations between church and state also claimed his attention. The Episcopal church was then established by law in Virginia, and dissenters were taxed to support it. Besides, there were heavy penalties attached to nonconformity ; a man convicted of heresy—for that matter, even a Unitarian—might be deprived of the custody of his own children. It took Jefferson nine years of hard work to cure this state of things, but the cure was effectual when it came in 1785 in the shape of the religious freedom act.

Seldom has a man so stamped his personality upon a community as Jefferson in those few years upon Virginia, and thus indirectly upon the whole nation, inasmuch as the work done in Virginia was imitated in other states, not only in its general spirit, but often in details. One step in his warfare with the old Cavalier families intrenched about Williamsburg was the removal of the state capital to the village of Richmond, which he accomplished in spite of bitter opposition. It is curious to see how generally this step was imitated, apparently through a dread and jealousy felt by the bucolic democracy toward cities and city people. Thus our modern capitals are not New York, but Albany ; not Philadelphia, but Harrisburg ; not Milwaukee, but Madison ; not St. Louis, but Jefferson City ; not New Orleans, but Baton Rouge ; and so on through a majority of the states. In like manner in 1786 the Shays party wished to remove the government of Massachusetts from Boston to some inland village.

Another measure which Jefferson introduced into Virginia in 1776

and which has been generally imitated was the provision for admitting foreigners to citizenship after a residence of two years and a declaration of intention to live in the state. This policy, when first introduced, was unquestionably sound, and has contributed powerfully to the rapid growth of the United States in population and wealth. It has brought, moreover, to a far greater extent than is supposed in much of the current talk upon this subject, an excellent class of immigrants containing the more energetic and adventurous elements in the middle and lower strata of European society. Circumstances, nevertheless, that could not have been foreseen a century ago, have surrounded it with dangers. Cheapness and ease of travel have gone far toward making our country the dumping-ground for a much worse class of immigrants from all quarters, so that it becomes a serious question whether we can assimilate them and teach them American political ideas with sufficient rapidity.

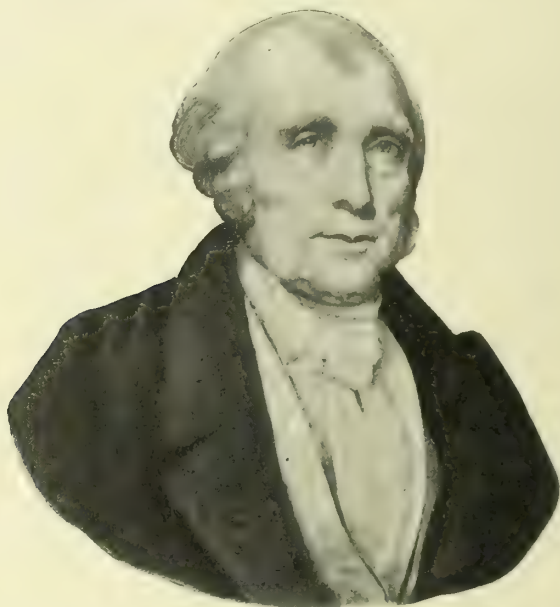
In the long series of reforms which Jefferson succeeded in carrying against the opposition of many of the principal families of tide-water Virginia, he owed his victory chiefly to the votes of delegates from the Scotch-Irish and German population of the Appalachian region. Here we have the earliest victory of the democratic West over the aristocratic East—of the new full-fledged Americanism over the semi-Americanism of the colonial period. Democratic reforms similar in spirit to those of Virginia were introduced in other states. By the beginning of the nineteenth century it was evident that the western counties of Pennsylvania thought and felt similarly with those of Virginia, and were powerfully affecting the composition of public opinion throughout the state. Similar ideas were readily caught up in quick-thinking and mobile New York, and thus they penetrated into the states of New England, where the change was most conspicuously seen in the separation of church and state. This began with the adoption of a new constitution by Connecticut in 1818. The next year it extended to New Hampshire, and then to Maine upon her admission into the Union in 1821; and finally, in 1833, Massachusetts released all her taxpayers from the compulsory support of any form of religious worship.

During the period following the peace of 1815, most of our states remodelled or amended their constitutions in such wise as to make them more democratic. There was an extension of the suffrage, a shortening of the terms of office, and a disposition to make all offices elective. There was much that was wholesome in this democratic movement, but there was also some crudeness, and now and then a lamentable mistake was made. Perhaps the worst instance was that of electing judges for

limited terms, instead of having them appointed for life or during good behavior. In particular cases the system may work fairly well, but its general tendency is demoralizing to bench and bar alike, and it is doubtless one of the most crying abominations by which our country is afflicted. Taken in connection with the disposition to seek violent redress for injuries, and with the mawkish humanitarianism of which criminals are so quick to take advantage, it has done much to diminish the security of life and property and to furnish a valid excuse for the rough-and-ready methods of Judge Lynch. It is encouraging to observe at the present time some symptoms of a disposition to return to the older and sounder method of making judges. Good sense is so strongly developed among our people that we may reasonably calculate upon their profiting by hard experience and correcting their own errors in the long run. It is far better that popular errors should be corrected in this way than by some beneficent autocratic power or by some set of people supposed to be wiser than others; and this, I believe, is the true theory of democracy. It is for this reason that democracy is, in the long run, the safest kind of government. This is the vital point which Jefferson understood infinitely better than Hamilton and the Federalists.

The rapid growth of democratic ideas in the early part of the nineteenth century is the fundamental cause of the dying-out of the Federalist party. There is something impressive and at first sight strange in the suddenness of the fall of Federalism. Here is a great political party numbering among its founders such men as Washington and Hamilton, a party which had given us our Federal Constitution and saved the country from anarchy, and which one would suppose must be permanently enthroned in the affections of the people. Yet, after holding power during three Presidential terms, this party loses a national election and is never again victorious in such a contest. From a strong opposition it dwindles to a feeble opposition, then to a mere sectional faction, finally to an ill-disposed clique, until after twenty years it is as dead as the parties of the Red and White Roses. Yet in this rapid decline and extinction of the Federalist party there is no mystery. The Federalist party was in antagonism to the steadily growing democracy of the age. It stood for a limited suffrage, for laws curtailing religious freedom, and the various other ideas which the new generation was fast repudiating. Under such circumstances the only thing that could have kept it alive would have been an attempt on the part of Jefferson's administration to undo the work of its predecessors. If the

country had been alarmed at the prospect of losing some of the advantages attributable to Hamilton's policy, there would no doubt have been a reaction in favor of Federalism; but as it was, Jefferson had very little of the fanatic about him, and was far too wise and conservative to indulge in retrograde measures. When the Republicans were once put in power, they came under the influence of loose-constructionist motives, and thus absorbed into their party what was best in Federalism. As for the people at large, they were far more afraid of outrages like the alien and sedition acts than of protests like the Virginia and



James Madison

FIG. 1.—James Madison. (From an unlettered mezzotint, after a painting by Chapman. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

Kentucky resolutions. The result was a tremendous Republican victory in 1804. The second Jeffersonian administration, with its foreign embroilments and its embargo, was less successful than the first; but the election of 1808 was no victory for the Federalist party. Jefferson might have had a third term, had he desired it; but it was more in accordance with his wishes that his friend Madison (Fig. 1) should be chosen to succeed him, and Madison was accordingly elected by 122 votes against 47 for Cotesworth Pinckney.

Concerning Madison's attitude as a party man, there has been much misapprehension because of the unintelligent way in which people often reason about names without stopping to consider what the names imply. Madison was one of the founders of the Federalist party ; he had more than any other one man to do with shaping our Federal Constitution, and during the eventful year 1788 his position as a leading Federalist was side by side with Washington and Hamilton. Yet before the end of Washington's first administration we find Madison a leading Republican, quite in alliance with Jefferson. It has therefore been assumed that Madison changed his attitude, and various ingenious reasons have been given to account for the change. This confusion arises from identifying the Republicans after 1790 with the Antifederalists before that date, and from forgetting that the Federalists, when pleading their case before the people, were not what they were afterward when Hamilton was fighting the battles over assumption and a national bank. In truth, some of those who were Antifederalists before 1790 flew to the opposite extreme afterward and became Federalists, as in the case of Patrick Henry. On the other hand, some of the original Federalists were unable to keep up with the party when it adopted Hamilton's aggressive measures. It was not Madison's attitude that had changed by 1792, but the attitude of the Federalist party. It is also wrong to class Jefferson at any time among Antifederalists ; as he himself wrote from Paris in 1789, he was far more in favor of the Constitution than opposed to it, and thought it only needed a few finishing touches here and there to become quite perfect. There is no doubt, however, that both Jefferson and Madison were strict constructionists. At the same time, it is clear that Madison was far more impressed than Jefferson with the necessity for maintaining the Federal Union in perpetuity.

The administration of Madison, culminating in a foreign war, furnished an excellent occasion for all parties to rally around the government ; but there was a remnant among the Federalists that did not realize this point. The Federalist party had lost its broadest and most flexible minds. Hamilton was dead—shot in a duel by the scoundrel Burr ; the two Adamses had found New England Federalism too narrow ; and as for men of the younger generation, we find Webster scarcely more than half in sympathy with his party. Thus the Federalists of 1812 were in a similar position to that of the modern Republicans after they had lost such men as Lincoln, Seward, Greeley, Sumner, Chase, Andrew, and the Blairs. When the brains have left a party, it acts out its lower nature ; and thus in 1812, while the party

that had once adopted the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions was becoming the national party, on the other hand, the party of Washington and Hamilton had become a little local junto in New England, strongly infected with secessionist notions, with its foremost leaders such men as George Cabot and Timothy Pickering, men of domestic virtues, but not endowed with breadth of intelligence.

As for the war of 1812, although it was in many respects unfortunate for the country, there can be no doubt that it did much toward strengthening the sentiment of union. The results of that war dealt a staggering blow to all separatist schemes. In that grand result, so far as the naval victories were concerned, the chief credit was won by New England, and it went far toward setting the popular sentiment in that part of the country out of gear with the schemes of the mossback Federalist leaders. But as regarded the land victories and the whole political situation, the chief credit accrued to the West. It was the much-loved statesman, "Harry of the West," the eloquent Henry Clay, that had prevailed upon the country to appeal to arms, in spite of the wrath of the New Englanders and the misgivings of President Madison. It was the invincible soldier of Tennessee that crowned the work with a prodigious victory. Had the war ended simply with the treaty of Ghent, which did not give us so much as we wanted, the discontent of New England might have continued. It was the battle of New Orleans that killed New England Federalism. It struck a chord of patriotic feeling to which the people of New England responded promptly. The Federalist leaders were at once discredited, and not a man that had gone to the Hartford Convention but had hard work for the rest of his life to regain the full confidence of his fellow-citizens. In the election of 1816 the Virginians put forward a candidate of far inferior calibre to the first four Presidents. If Virginian Republicanism contained two streams of tendency, of which the one represented by Madison was the more friendly to indissoluble union, it was the opposite tendency that was represented by James Monroe. But at that moment there was little strife between the two. The Federalist candidate, Rufus King, was a far abler man than Monroe; but he obtained only 33 votes, against 183 for Monroe. This was the last national election in which the Federalists appeared. In 1820 they did not put forward any candidate; it was admitted by all that their party was dead and buried. All but one of the electoral votes were given to James Monroe. One elector cast his vote for John Quincy Adams, just as a matter of form, in order that no President after Washington might be

chosen by an absolutely unanimous vote, and thus come into rivalry with the father of his country.

Because of this absence of the usual strife of organized parties, the period of Monroe's Presidency has been often called the "era of good feeling." The war had disposed of many old issues, and the new ones had not yet sufficiently shaped themselves to be appropriated as imple-

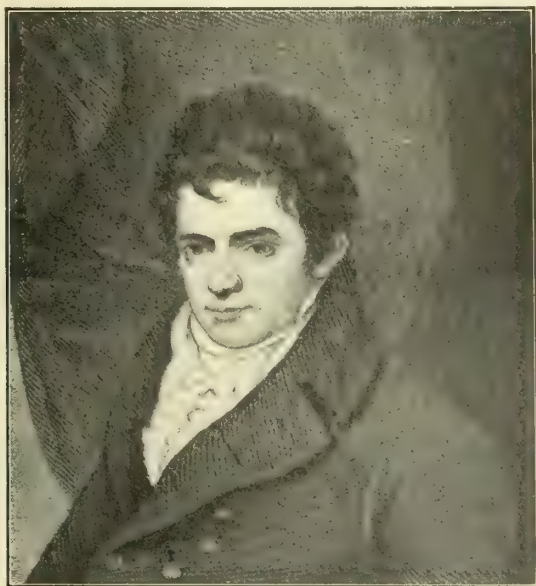


FIG. 2.—Robert Fulton. (From an engraving by G. Parker, after a painting by B. West.)

ments of party warfare. Nevertheless, the very year 1820, in which Monroe was triumphantly re-elected, marks one of the most important eras that occurred in the interval between the adoption of the Federal Constitution and the breaking-out of the great civil war. Among the events of Monroe's time, the Missouri Compromise was certainly in the front rank of importance. It was the first among the great cases of constitutional debate that grew out of Jefferson's purchase of Louisiana.

The mere mention of Missouri serves to emphasize the surprising rapidity with which the frontier had been moving westward. Since 1790 the population of the United States had increased from about 4,000,000 to nearly 10,000,000, and new states had been formed beyond the Alleghanies as fast as the obstacles to westward migration were removed. The chief obstacles had been the hostility of the Indians and the difficulty of getting from place to place. A series of victorious campaigns, from those of Anthony Wayne to those of Harrison, had completely broken the Indian power in the North, while in the South it had been swept away by Andrew Jackson. In 1807, after sundry partial successes by earlier inventors, Robert Fulton (Fig. 2) had constructed a steamboat that proved satisfactory. In 1811 a steamboat was launched on the Ohio River at Pittsburg, and presently such nimble craft were plying on all the Western rivers, carrying settlers and traders, farm produce and household utensils. This gave an immense impetus to the western migration. After Ohio had been admitted to the Union in 1802, ten years had elapsed before the next state, Louisiana, was added. But in six years after the war a new state was added every year: Indiana in 1816, Mississippi in 1817, Illinois in 1818, Alabama in 1819, Maine in 1820, Missouri in 1821; all but one of them west of the Alleghanies, one of them west of the Mississippi. In President Monroe's second term, while there were thirty Senators from the Atlantic states, there were already eighteen from the West. It was evident that the political centre of gravity was moving westward at a very rapid rate. In the new Southern states thus created below the thirty-sixth parallel, the South Carolinian type of society prevailed. The chief industry was the growing of cotton for export; but rice and indigo were also raised in South Carolina, and sugar as well as tobacco in Louisiana. In all this Gulf region, negro slavery was held to be a necessity in the absence of which civilized society could hardly exist. In all the other newly admitted states there was an extensive and complicated mixing of people from different portions of the Atlantic coast, although for the present not many had come from New England. The westward migration from that section of the country was still engaged in occupying the country of the Six Nations, along what is now the line of the New York Central Railroad. Some time was yet to elapse before the New England migration was to become dominant in the Northwest; and, as a rule, the building-up of the West was not yet regarded with much favor by New England statesmen. In 1812, when the state of Louisiana was admitted into the Union, the act was vigorously opposed in the House of Repre-

sentatives by Josiah Quincy, afterward president of Harvard. This gentleman went so far as to say that if such states west of the Mississippi River were going to form a part of our body politic, it would be high time for New England to secede from the Union—peaceably if possible, but forcibly if force should be required.

So far as negro slavery was concerned in the newly admitted states, it had been forever barred out from the territory northwest of the Ohio River by the ordinance of 1787; and although sundry attempts had been made to induce Congress to repeal that provision, they had not been successful. From the regions south of the Ohio River, slavery had never been excluded, and consequently it had already taken root there. Although no sharp antagonism had yet arisen between the North and the South, yet it will be observed that in admitting new states there had been a disposition to take them alternately from the North and from the South, as if to preserve an even balance in the Senate. Thus Vermont in 1791 was offset by Kentucky, and Tennessee, admitted in 1796, was offset by Ohio in 1802. Again, Louisiana might be considered as counterpoised by Indiana, Mississippi by Illinois, and Alabama by Maine. But now, with the question as to the admission of Maine, came also the question as to Missouri, which lay beyond the Mississippi River, within the Louisiana purchase, and had not formed part of the United States when the Constitution was adopted. These things were no doubt true of the state of Louisiana itself; but that was down in the negro slavery zone, and its economic conditions seemed to call for slavery as much as those of any other Gulf state. But as for Missouri, she was half way between North and South, and thus grave political issues were raised.

After the admission of Alabama in 1819, there were eleven free states and eleven slave states in the Union, so that the Senate was equally divided. In the House the free states had a majority of 10; but since on questions relating to slavery the South was more likely to be solid than the North, this advantage of numbers on the side of the free states was rather more than neutralized. One fact was already becoming apparent: namely, that the population of the free states was increasing at a greater rate than that of the slave states; so that the inequality in the vote of the House would incline more and more in favor of the North as time went on. Now, it was one of the peculiar circumstances attendant upon our Southern system of slave labor that it continually required fresh accessions of territory in order to be economically profitable. It was a crude system of labor in which the soil was rapidly exhausted, and little or nothing was done in the way of rotation of crops. There can be no

doubt that it was a very ineffective method of obtaining returns from the soil, yet it was honestly believed by the slaveholders to be the only method available; so that they were naturally driven to great exertions in defence of the system upon which their very existence as industrial communities was supposed to depend. There was thus, at the bottom of the land-hunger, territorial greed, desire for expansion, or whatever you choose to call it, of the slaveholding states, a twofold cause. There was first the direct economic need of fresh soil, and secondly there was the need of new states and increased population, in order to present enough strength at Washington to defend the system of slavery against attacks from the North.

It was in the spring of 1818 that the legislature of Missouri territory petitioned Congress for permission to form a state government in which slavery should be permitted. The matter was referred to a committee, which reported a bill in favor of the petition. But when this bill came before the House in February, 1819, James Tallmadge, one of the members from New York, moved an amendment prohibiting the further introduction of slavery into Missouri and providing that "All children born within the said state after the admission thereof into the Union shall be free at the age of twenty-five." If this amendment had been carried, it would have very nearly stopped the westward expansion of slavery. The most that could be gained for further growth would be the Arkansas territory, together with what was afterward organized as the Indian territory. The practical result of Tallmadge's motion would have been similar to that of the Wilmot Proviso of later years, which announced the doctrine which triumphed at the polls in 1860. It is not strange, therefore, that the debate over the question was obstinate and fierce. The aged Jefferson said that it came upon him with the startling force of a fire-bell in the night. Threats of secession, like those which Boston Federalists had indulged in ten years earlier, now began to come in plenty from the South. Before any definite result had been reached, a bill was introduced for framing a territorial government for the Arkansas region, where slavery already existed. It was moved that Congress should prohibit slavery in this new territory; but this motion was lost, and in this preliminary skirmish the South was victorious.

It is interesting to find Henry Clay at this juncture among the most rigid strict-constructionists. He denied the constitutional right of Congress to prohibit slavery in the national domain, and he furthermore argued that Congress had no right to interfere with Southern emigrants going to Missouri and taking with them their slaves, which were as much

their property as the horses which drew their emigrant-wagons and the rolls of greasy currency with which their wallets were stuffed. If it was downright robbery to run away with a man's horses or to cover him with a pistol and make him give up his pocketbook, was it not equally so to deprive him of his slaves? But Northern members argued that, according to human laws in general, no human beings can be said to be property, like horses and cattle. It is only in the special legislation of a few special communities that black men are regarded as chattels. It is right for Congress to legislate in accordance with principles generally accepted, and not to pay respect to particular local usages or statutes beyond the specific limits within which they have been guaranteed by the Constitution. As for interfering with slavery in the national domain, the famous ordinance of 1787 had forever prohibited it in the territory north of the Ohio River. Could anyone say why the same sauce should not serve for the Illinois goose and for the Missouri gander?

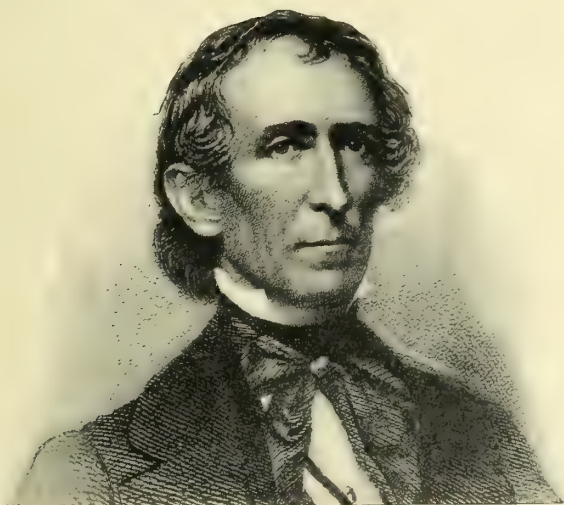
When the Tallmadge amendment was put to vote, it passed the House by 97 to 56, but was rejected by the Senate. Presently Congress adjourned without coming to a settlement, and the question was hotly discussed through the summer and autumn. When the new Congress met in December, 1819, a new petition was presented from Missouri, and all the arguments were gone over again. Presently Maine, which was separating from Massachusetts, knocked at the door of the Union, begging admission. The House granted the petition; but the Senate, in doing the same, attached to the bill a rider providing that Missouri should be admitted without any restrictions as to slavery. In February, 1820, one of the Illinois Senators brought in the bill which came to be known as the Missouri Compromise. It proposed to admit the state of Missouri without restrictions upon slavery, while in all the remaining territory north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ slavery should be forever prohibited. This measure passed both Houses; and the Southern opposition to the admission of Maine having been withdrawn, that state was at once admitted. In Missouri there was some delay over the adoption of a state constitution, so that her case was not finally disposed of until the next year. A new storm then arose. The constitution of Missouri forbade the entrance of free negroes into the state. It soon appeared that unless this clause should be dropped, there would be no hope of getting Northern votes in favor of admission. At length the Missouri legislature adopted a provision by which the state pledged itself not to exclude any colored person who was a citizen of another state. This was indeed necessary in order to satisfy that clause of the Federal Con-

stitution which enjoins that "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." Thus, after so much contention, Missouri became a state in the Union.

The practical effect of the Missouri Compromise was to prevent slavery from becoming a dominating issue in American politics until 1845, when the annexation of Texas brought it once more into the foreground. To describe that period of a quarter of a century as one of quiet upon the slavery question would be a great mistake. There was agitation enough upon that score, but other great questions kept it subordinate. At the moment when the compromise was secured, there was almost as much difference of opinion about it as had been shown during the debates. The opponents of slavery were inclined to regard it as a most lamentable concession to the South; while the extreme Southern party regarded it as an unwarrantable surrender to the North. The caustic John Randolph called it a "dirty bargain," and invented for the Northern men whose votes had carried it through the House the epithet "doughfaces." This name afterward came to be applied derisively to men who were disposed to yield something to Southern demands in order to avoid an armed conflict. Sometimes they were described as "Northern men with Southern principles," an expression which was sometimes deserved, but in which there sometimes lurked gross injustice. With regard to Randolph's choice of words, no one would think of calling John Quincy Adams a doughface; you might as well call a diamond soft, or crowbars flexible. Yet Adams favored the compromise, as he said, "from extreme unwillingness to put the Union to hazard."

The opinion of John Tyler (Fig. 3) was unquestionably shared by many of the people of Virginia. He took extreme ground against the imposition of any restrictions upon the extension of slavery. At the same time he declared himself on principle opposed to the perpetuation of slavery, and he sought to reconcile these positions by the argument that in diffusing the slave population over a wide area the evils of the institution would be diminished and the prospects of ultimate emancipation increased. "Slavery," said Tyler, "has been represented on all hands as a dark cloud, and the candor of the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Whitman) drove him to the admission that it would be well to disperse this cloud. In this sentiment I entirely concur with him. How can you otherwise disarm it? Will you suffer it to increase in its darkness over one particular portion of this land, till its horrors shall burst upon it? Will you permit the lightnings of its wrath to break upon the South, when by the interposition of a wise system of legislation

you may reduce it to a summer's cloud?" New York and Pennsylvania, he argued, had been able to emancipate their slaves only because they were so few in numbers. Dispersion, moreover, would be likely to ameliorate the condition of the black man; for by making his labor scarce in each particular locality, it would increase the demand for it, and would thus make it for the interest of the master to deal fairly and generously with his slaves. To the obvious objection that the increase of the slave population would fully keep up with its territorial expansion, he replied by denying that such would be the case. This denial



John Tyler

FIG. 3.—John Tyler. (From an etching by H. B. Hall.)

seems to show that the functions which Virginia and Kentucky were beginning to discharge, in breeding slaves for Southern markets, were not yet clearly appreciated. By the middle of the century it had become apparent that the economic conditions of the slave power demanded not only larger territory, but a greater slave population; it became clear that the supply of laborers from the border states was becoming insufficient to meet the demand. So urgent had the case become that before the breaking-out of the civil war there had been a partial and clandestine revival of the African slave-trade.

Tyler's next argument was that if an old state such as Virginia

could have slaves, while a new state such as Missouri was to be prevented by Federal authority from having them, then the old and new states would at once be placed upon a different footing, which was contrary to the spirit of the Constitution. If Congress could thus impose one restriction upon a state, where was the exercise of such a power to end? Once grant such a power, and what was to prevent a slaveholding majority in Congress from forcing slavery upon some territory where it was not wanted? Thus he sought to warn off his opponents by reminding them that their principle was two-edged. He pursued the argument so far as to deny "that Congress, under its constitutional authority to establish rules and regulations for the territories, had any control whatever over slavery in the territorial domain." Tyler was unquestionably foremost among the members of Congress in occupying this extreme position. If his argument was sound, it would seem to follow that the Continental Congress, in passing the ordinance of 1787, had acted upon a principle which was vitiated and condemned by the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is worthy of note that when the Missouri Compromise bill was sent to President Monroe for his signature, he consulted his Cabinet on the question whether Congress had the constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a territory. Among the persons thus consulted were William Wirt, of Virginia, William Crawford, of Georgia, and John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina. And their reply was unanimous that Congress had such constitutional right. Upon this advice the President signed the bill and it became law. It would be difficult to see how the constitutional doctrine could have been more emphatically stated.

A profound student of American economics, the late Professor Cairnes, of the University of Dublin, in his suggestive book, "The Slave Power," considers the Missouri Compromise a great victory for the South. For undoubtedly the slaveholders gained the point which was immediately contested, while with regard to the compromise line upon the map, if they were in future to find themselves cramped for room, some line of argument might be found whereby it could be overridden; and in fact, this is what really happened. On the other hand, it must be said that if the western boundaries of the United States were destined never to be shifted, the Missouri Compromise was a decided victory for the North. It left an enormous area at the northwest to be filled up in course of time by free states, whereas at the South it left but little room for slavery to expand. The *Richmond Enquirer* of March 7, 1820, in denouncing the compromise, observed in language

of prophetic interest that the Southern and Western representatives now "owe it to themselves to keep their eyes firmly fixed on Texas; if we are cooped up on the north, we must have elbow-room to the west." When we consider that Mexico with Texas had not yet become independent of Spain, and that scarcely a year had elapsed since the treaty for the purchase of Florida expressly renounced our claims upon Texas, this suggestion of the *Richmond Enquirer* was surely a bold one.

We may now leave the slavery question for a while, and turn our attention to the new division between political parties which grew up after the close of Monroe's Presidency. The first topic which concerns us is the popular condemnation of the practice of nominating candidates by the Congressional caucus.

It has commonly been remarked that the accession of Andrew Jackson marks the beginning of a new era in the character of the Presidency. It is often said that after the first six Presidents there was a decided falling-off in the quality of our Presidents until the election of Abraham Lincoln. In this way of stating the case, there is some looseness of thought. Among our first six Presidents, James Monroe was an essentially mediocre person, far surpassed in ability by Jackson and Tyler; while as for Van Buren, in intellectual equipment and in knowledge of the principles of civil government, he has scarcely been surpassed by any other President in the whole series. Sometimes it is said that in point of social position there was a great falling-off after the first six Presidents. This is true if we consider only the case of Jackson; but after Jackson it is not until the election of Lincoln that we go to the lower strata of society for a President. In point of ability, we see a very marked falling-off from Van Buren to Harrison, from Tyler to Polk, and again from Taylor to Fillmore. What we have now to notice especially is the change which showed itself in the election of Jackson. It was a very sudden change, and the popular characterization of it is none too strong, provided we avoid careless generalization.

The Constitution, while minutely prescribing the manner in which the President should be elected, said nothing about the manner in which candidates for that office should be nominated. The framers of the Constitution appear to have supposed that the people of each state would vote for such of their fellow-citizens as they supposed would be well qualified to judge who should be President. At an appointed day the citizens thus voted for were to assemble together and use their own discretion in the selection of a President, and at a certain future day the

tabulated result of each of these electoral votes should be sent to Congress to be counted. In such a system there appeared to be no need for prescribing any machinery of nomination ; but this method of a free choice of electors, followed by a free choice by electors, never really came into use. In the first two elections, Washington was a foregone conclusion. In the first contested election, John Adams already held the office of Vice-President and represented the principal Northern state, as Washington represented the principal Southern ; while on the

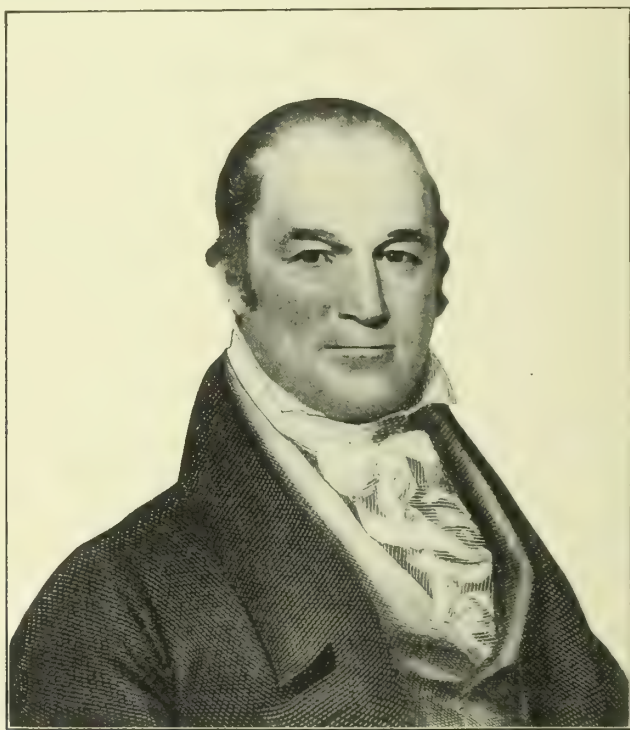


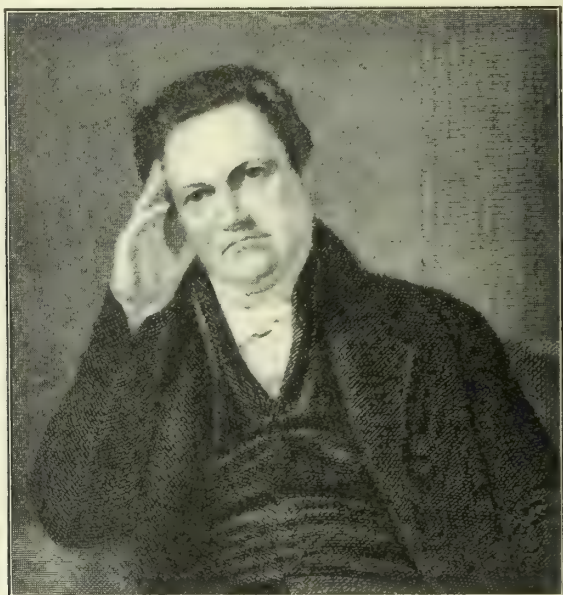
FIG. 4.—William H. Crawford. (From an engraving by Durand, after a painting by Jarvis. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

other hand, Jefferson was the recognized leader of the opposition. It was therefore natural that Adams and Jefferson should be the candidates ; and there was a kind of understanding between the Federalists and Republicans in Congress respectively that this should be the case. Thus there grew up the method of nomination by Congressional caucus, while the electoral colleges, having had names once presented to them, simply chose between those names. From the election of 1800 onward, it became evident that the choosing of electors was simply the choosing

of men bound to register a predetermined conclusion. Thus, if a certain state chose Federalist electors, these electors never thought of such a thing as discussing the merits of several eminent Federalists as possible Presidents, but they simply recorded their votes for the Federalist candidate who had been put in nomination by the Congressional caucus. In this way the nominations and elections went on until Monroe's second election in 1820. During all this time there was a feeling of popular opposition to this method, which, although weak at first, gradually swelled into violent indignation. Why should Congress thus take away from the people the right of nominating the candidates? Who had given to Congress any such authority? The growing spirit of democracy revolted against the system. It was aristocratic, oligarchic, despotic, unprincipled—in short, no name was too bad for it. And then consider what kind of Presidents it gave us: a "Virginia dynasty," forsooth, and a Massachusetts upstart who was once so arrogant in one of his books as to speak of "the well-born." Indeed, who were the well-born? Were any to be found outside of New England? The cause of human freedom in America had been but half won unless Presidents could be chosen from among the village blacksmiths and city cab-drivers as well as from rich Virginia planters and Massachusetts lawyers. Such was the feeling that was commonly expressed in 1820 and the following years, and in the election of 1824 it played an important part.

The candidates that year were all called Republicans, for the Federalist party had become extinct. In regard to political principles there were no marked differences among the candidates, although such differences were soon to arise. For the present the choice between them was largely a matter of personal preference, save for the general hostility toward the Congressional caucus. The candidate nominated by the caucus was William Crawford, of Georgia, a Virginian by birth, who was Monroe's Secretary of the Treasury. Crawford was supposed to represent the Virginia dynasty. Another candidate was Henry Clay, who had been Speaker of the House, and was then perhaps the most popular statesman in the country. A third was De Witt Clinton (Fig. 5), formerly governor of New York, and one of the chief promoters of the Erie Canal. A fourth was John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina, Monroe's Secretary of War. A fifth was John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State; and lastly, there was Andrew Jackson, who at the time of his victory at New Orleans had been scarcely known outside of Tennessee, but since that victory had become in many parts of the country a popular idol. Most of these candidates were put forward by the leg-

islatures of their own and other states ; but Jackson was nominated by a special convention in Blount County, Tennessee, more than a year before the time of election, and this nomination was followed by others at the hands of small local conventions in various parts of the country. The result of the election showed a considerable plurality for Jackson in the popular vote ; but owing to the irregular methods of the time, and to the fact that in several states the electors were chosen by the legislatures, the size of this plurality cannot be accurately estimated. Of the electoral votes, Jackson had 99, Adams had 84, Crawford 41, and Clay 37.



De Witt Clinton

FIG. 5.—De Witt Clinton.

Mr. Calhoun received 182 votes for Vice-President, and was thus elected ; while of the four candidates for President, no one had a majority. Thus, for the second time in our history, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives.

According to the Constitution, the House was required to choose a President from the three names highest on the list. This provision excluded Clay, but left him at liberty to use his influence in behalf of either of the other three ; and so great was his influence that the candidate whom he thus favored was sure to prevail. There can be no doubt as to which

was Clay's most natural choice among the three. As an opponent of the caucus, he was not likely to favor Crawford, who was at the same time a strict-constructionist, and Clay was rapidly drifting away from strict construction. Jackson had a plurality of electoral votes, and some of his friends, such as Benton, talked as if that circumstance laid Clay under a moral obligation to support him; but there is nothing in the Constitution to justify such a view. Clay was not at all likely to sup-

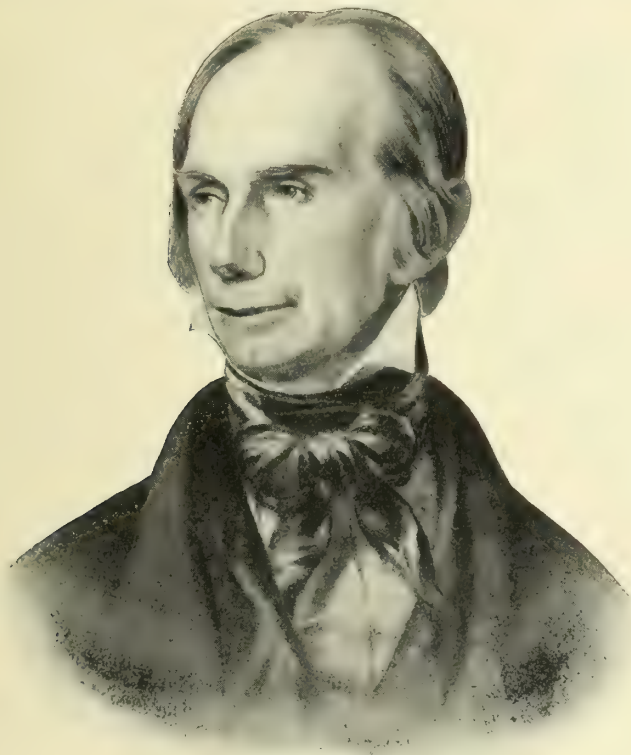


FIG. 6.—Henry Clay. (From an engraving by Chevillet, from Neagle's original painting. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

port Jackson, for the hatred between them was intense and bitter to a degree that has seldom been witnessed in political history. As for Adams, while Clay's personal feelings toward him were not particularly friendly, there was at all events a strong political sympathy between the two. Both wanted to turn the activities of government in the same direction. From Adams, Clay might expect sympathetic co-operation in public measures; in Crawford, he was more likely to find obstruc-

tion; in Jackson, malicious and vindictive obstruction. Naturally, therefore, Clay threw his influence in favor of Adams, who was elected. At this result the Jacksonians were driven to the verge of frenzy. They had come so near rescuing the country from the curse of an aristocratic government by electing their popular hero that they could not rest patient under this unexpected defeat. They longed for some scandalous charge to bring against the victorious candidate, and circumstances soon furnished one for the occasion. When President Adams made up his Cabinet, he appointed Clay (Fig. 6) for his Secretary of State. The selection was an eminently good one. Clay had many qualifications for diplomacy, and he had been associated with Adams in negotiating the treaty of Ghent, so that the latter had full experience of his qualities. It was the most natural choice in the world; yet some of Jackson's friends declared that Clay's support of Adams had been the result of a private bargain wherein Adams promised him the position of Secretary of State in return for his support. To appreciate the full point of this, the reader must remember that Jefferson had been Washington's Secretary of State, that Madison had held that office under Jefferson, and Monroe under Madison, and Quincy Adams under Monroe; so that the office had begun to seem to convey a prescriptive right to the next succession to the Presidency. In other words, it was as if Adams had privately said to Clay, "Make me President now, and I'll do all in my power to make you my successor." Such was the charge brought forth against these two men. Nobody ever adduced any evidence for it, and probably nobody believes in it to-day. The conduct alleged was not like either of the two men, yet many of the defeated Jacksonians were goaded to madness by it at the time. To mention the charge to Jackson was enough to make him believe it, and from that time forth he hated Adams and Clay more venomously than ever as personal enemies who had conspired together to deprive him of his just rights. Perhaps the story is best remembered to-day by the duel to which it led between Clay and John Randolph (Fig. 7). This interesting personage was a Virginian of lofty lineage, inasmuch as the Randolphs had been eminent on both sides of the Atlantic for at least five centuries. On his mother's side he was a descendant of Pocahontas. Randolph was a man of striking personal accomplishments, and wide though desultory learning; a man in whom independence of temper combined perhaps with vanity to make him restless under party discipline. During the early part of the century he was at the head of a small faction in Congress known as the Quids, which, among other eccentricities, joined the New England men in

opposing the war. The vigor of Randolph's invective may be judged from some of his remarks about Clay in a speech which referred to the so-called bargain. "When I beheld in a man such brilliancy combined with so much baseness, I was reminded of nothing so much as a rotten mackerel by moonlight, which shined and stunk." And again, in alluding to the bargain, Randolph speaks of this "new and unheard-of coalition between Master Bliffl and Black George, the Puritan with the black-leg." This last epithet was an allusion to Clay's habit of card-playing and whiskey-drinking, as contrasted with Adams's prim and

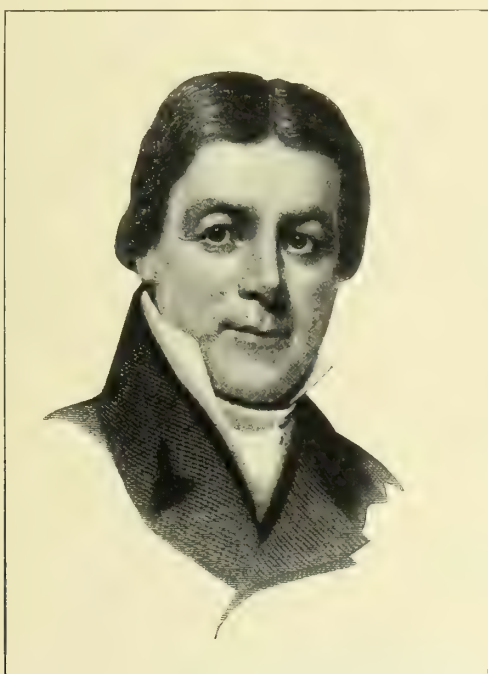


FIG. 7.—John Randolph of Roanoke.

ascetic habits. These somewhat virulent remarks led to a prompt challenge from Clay and an exchange of shots by which nobody was hurt.

The period of Quincy Adams's administration was marked by the formation of new parties on new issues, but still involving the same old antagonism between strict and loose construction. With the disappearance of the Federalists the Republican party had come practically to include all voters ; but in this very comprehensiveness lay the certainty of a speedy division and renewed antagonism. Three issues, of a com-

prehensive and incisive character, soon came up to cause such a division. One of these was a legacy left over from Hamiltonian times—namely, the United States Bank; the second was largely due to the lamentable war of 1812—namely, the protectionist tariff; the third was an immediate consequence of the rapid movement of the frontier westward—namely, the policy of internal improvements. Of these issues, those of the tariff and internal improvements furnished some of the chief contests during Adams's administration. Adams is especially identified with the doctrine of internal improvements, and Clay with that of a protective tariff; but on both these important questions both leaders worked together harmoniously on principles of loose-construction, while in antagonism to them the Jacksonians, whose position was at first somewhat uncertain and wavering, became more and more emphatically strict-constructionists. About this time Crawford became incapacitated by illness; and his followers, uniting with those of Jackson, gave a still more strict-constructionist complexion to the whole party. The party of Adams and Clay soon came to be known as National Republicans, because they claimed that their policy was especially conducive to the building up and welding together of a great nation. On the other hand, their Jacksonian opponents had for some time been coming to be known as Democrats. It will be remembered that this epithet was already used by the Federalists as a term of reproach before the year 1800. But with the rapid progress of democratic feeling in the United States, it ceased to be a term of reproach, and to a great many of the people it seemed like a title of honor. The Jeffersonian party came to be officially known as Democratic-Republican. Now, when the Clay and Adams wing broke off and called themselves National Republicans, their Jacksonian antagonists simply dropped the name Republican altogether and were proud to be known as Democrats.

The first form taken by the doctrine of internal improvements was that of canals and great turnpike roads connecting different parts of the country, and especially the new West with the older East. These roads and canals were to be built at the government's expense; and in support of this policy, it was argued that they were essential to the maintenance of the Union. Its advocates pointed to the magnificent roads and aqueducts built by the ancient Romans, and declared that it was a worthy emulation to strive to surpass those ancient masters of statecraft in the construction of such mighty works. In this argument there was much that was sound, and still more that was calculated to inspire a lofty patriotism. There can be no doubt that in such a vast territory

PLATE I.



Lafayette.

At the time of his visit to the United States in 1826.

From a line engraving by Geitle. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.

History of All Nations, Vol. XXIII., page 42.

better means of communication were absolutely required for the preservation of the Union. There can be little doubt that a third of a century later the Union would have been overthrown, but for the additional power of putting forth its strength that was given it by railroads and telegraphs. As to the desirableness of the roads and canals, there could be no sort of doubt; nor could it be doubted that a great deal of work might advantageously be bestowed upon the improvement of rivers and harbors with a view to the military defence of the country, and other objects, such as the facilitation of trade, in which the whole country was interested. It still remained an open question, however, whether the centralizing methods of the ancient Romans furnished the best model for imitation. Was it not possible that equally great results might be achieved by the labor of private corporations? For multifarious human experience shows that, as a general rule, the methods employed in private business are much more efficient than those employed in public administration. Work is better done and more economically, and the latest improvements in the arts are much more promptly utilized. It may be safely said that in very few occupations, especially where construction is required, can the work of government compete successfully with private enterprise.

There is another point of view, however, and perhaps still more important, from which this subject is to be regarded. If a road or canal is to be built or the channel of a river deepened by private enterprise, or even by the action of the nearest municipal or state government, in all probability the work will not be undertaken unless it is needed, or unless, from a business point of view, it can be made to earn a profit on the investment. Now, it is but seldom in this world that work ought to be undertaken which cannot sooner or later pay its own way. Cases may arise, however, in which external help is needed at the outset. When such questions are left to be settled in the ordinary course of business, rash enterprises are not likely to be undertaken; but when once it is understood that local improvements in all parts of the country are to be undertaken at the direction of a roomful of men in Washington, very few of whom can by any possibility possess the requisite local information for holding intelligent opinions on the subject, then an endless opportunity is offered for that peculiar exchange of favors known in American history as "log-rolling." A agrees to vote for a new post-office in Rattlesnake Gulch, and in exchange B promises to advocate the building of a dam across Spread Eagle Creek, three thousand miles away. Enough has been seen of the workings

of such a system to know that it may easily prove a source of corruption.

As for the question of a protective tariff, which began to be a burning question in 1824, it was one of the pernicious results of the war of 1812. Previous to that war the Americans had shown no decided love for protective tariffs. Among our earlier statesmen there were many who had read the immortal book of Adam Smith, published in 1776, and profited by its arguments. The adoption of the Federal Constitution was in itself a gigantic stride in the direction of free trade—a stride so great that all our subsequent derelictions have failed to neutralize it. If there were any truth in protectionist theories, the United States ought to have 45 boundaries with 45 systems of custom-houses, instead of one. If it is advantageous to put a tariff upon Canadian lumber because Canada is not a part of our Federal Union, then it would be equally advantageous to do so were she to become a part of it. The notion that lines of demarcation in trade areas are needed to correspond with political lines of demarcation is one of the most absurd superstitions that has ever bejuggled the human mind. The establishment of absolute free trade over one-half of the North American continent was undoubtedly one of the greatest benefits wrought by the adoption of our Federal Constitution.

When Alexander Hamilton, as has already been explained, found himself confronted with the problem of raising a revenue for Federal purposes without alarming the taxpayers, he found himself practically driven to the method of raising it by custom-house duties. In other words, people must be made to pay Federal taxes without realizing it. The reception which was accorded to Hamilton's excise upon whiskey showed that it was sound policy in him to rely upon human dullness, and put the tax in a quarter where its true aspect would be veiled. It was quite consistent also with his general policy for him to advocate a mild degree of protection, since he wished expressly to create business interests that would feel themselves more or less dependent upon the Federal government. It was also desirable to favor certain industries and make their leading representatives loose-constructionists. It was therefore in pursuit of a very subtle policy that Hamilton prescribed protection in homeopathic doses, somewhat as a cautious physician prescribes brandy or opium. What would he have said, could he have looked forward a century and beheld the wholesale and beastly guzzling to which his mild prescription was to lead?

The effects of the embargo policy followed by the war with Great

Britain were simple. Intercourse with English manufactories was interrupted to such an extent and for so long a period that in many instances Americans began to manufacture goods of an inferior quality instead of importing. This change was especially marked in New England, where importation received a decided check at the same time that manufacturing received an impetus. Between the years 1816 and 1824 this change in New England had made great progress. Now, if these manufactures had not been helped by legislation, the complaint which all made might have proved true in a few cases. Some might have perished; and if they could not maintain themselves without putting their hands in the pockets of their fellow-citizens, it was right that they should perish. Our government was not formed for the purpose of administering alms to men who have shown poor judgment in their choice of occupation. The manufacturers, however, naturally preferred to receive alms, and their cause was taken up by Henry Clay, who soon came to be known as its doughtiest champion. Clay well understood the value of humbug, and knew how a popular epithet can be made to save people the trouble of thinking; so he baptized his system of high tariffs "the American system." This was a little too much for Webster, who reminded Congress that nearly all European countries had been groaning under high tariffs ever since the Middle Ages, while the United States had put free trade principles into operation over a wider area than had ever been witnessed before. He begged to know, therefore, why this pre-eminently un-American thing should be ostentatiously singled out and dubbed "American." Clay could easily have told him why, had he cared to.

The completion of Clay's "American" policy, however, lay in its combination of high tariff with internal improvements. Inasmuch as a schedule of duties high enough to satisfy the protected interests would yield a revenue greater than was needed for the expenses of the government and would thus soon create an embarrassing surplus, Clay suggested that certain duties might be made high enough to diminish or prohibit importation, thus securing protection without yielding revenue. In addition, he recommended that the surplus might be devoted to the work of building canals and turnpikes on an extensive scale. Such was the so-called American system, and its adherents were called National Republicans.

Its antagonists, the Democrats, appealed to the Federal Constitution, declaring that it nowhere authorizes Congress to raise money by taxation for the purpose of protecting certain industries or of making internal improvements. On these questions the Democrats insisted upon a strict

construction of the Constitution, and in these circumstances I think we have an explanation of Daniel Webster's change of attitude toward the tariff in his speech of 1828. The tariff bill which was enacted in that year was the result of a promiscuous scramble among different industries for government alms. It was generally known at the time as "the tariff of abominations," for it was the first extreme application of the protective system. Now, in 1824 Webster had given one of his greatest speeches, in which he subjected the arguments of the high-tariff party to a scathing criticism. But when the bill of 1828 was before the Senate, Webster made a memorable speech, in which he completely abandoned the position he had held in 1824. For this change of attitude he was naturally praised by his new allies, who were glad to interpret it as a powerful argument in favor of their views. By everyone else he was blamed; and this speech has often been cited, together with that of March 7, 1850, hereafter to be noticed, as proving that Webster was governed by unworthy motives and lacking in political principles. It will appear, however, that in neither case did Webster attempt to disguise his real motives. In 1828 he frankly admitted that the policy of protection to manufactures, by means of tariff duties, was a policy of which he had disapproved whether as a political economist or as a representative of the interests of New England. Against his own opposition and that of New England, the act of 1824 had passed. "What, then, was New England to do? Was she to hold out forever against the course of the government, and see herself losing on one side, and yet make no effort to sustain herself on the other? No, sir. Nothing was left for New England but to conform herself to the will of others. Nothing was left to her but to consider that the government had fixed and determined its own policy, and that policy was protection." In other words, the tariff policy adopted at Washington, while threatening the commercial interests of New England, had favored the investment of capital in manufactures there, and it was not becoming in a representative of New England to take part in disturbing the new arrangement of things. This argument, if pushed far enough, would end in the doctrine formerly often defended, but now apparently obsolete, that a Senator is simply the ambassador of his state in Congress. The speech must not be taken as indicating any change in Webster's economic views. He was too honest a thinker to be able to hide the real workings of his mind, and nowhere in his speeches defending the high-tariff policy do we ever find the ring of true metal. Other men might be fooled by the sophistry of protectionism, but he was not. It

would be unfair, however, to charge him with conscious dereliction to principle. It would be more just and more correct to say that, amid the complication of conflicting interests, he felt it necessary to subordinate one question to another that was for the moment vastly more important. His conduct was far more the result of his intense love for the Union than of the temperament which has sometimes been called

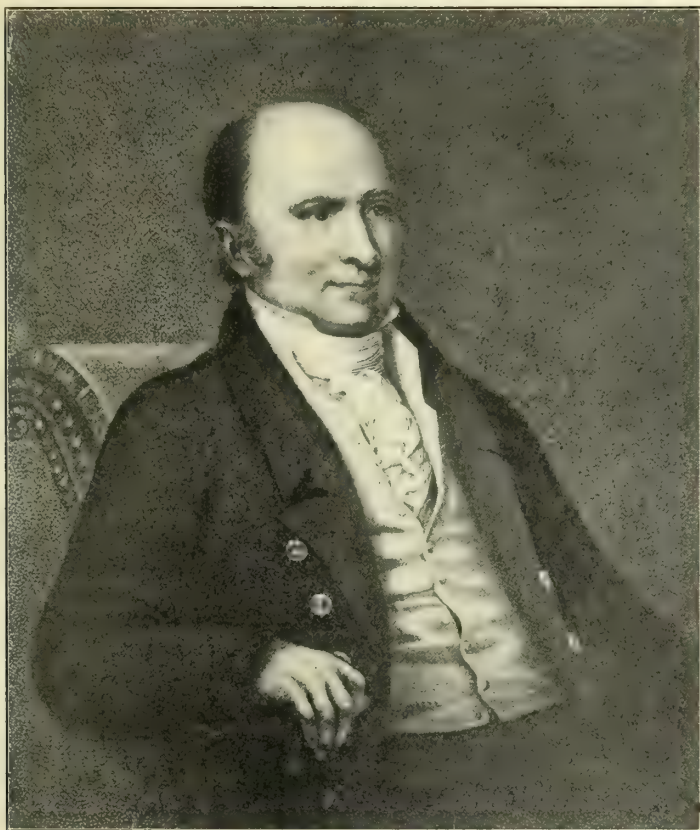


FIG. 8.—John Quincy Adams. (From an engraving by Kerny, after a painting by King. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

“opportunism.” At that time it was impossible to attack the policy of Clay and Adams without advocating strict construction; but at that moment the dark clouds of nullification and secession were lowering upon the southern horizon, and it was not easy to clothe the Federal government with power enough to meet the emergency without resorting to principles of loose-construction. The choice before Webster was, on the one hand, strict-construction with a sound political economy, and the

Union endangered ; on the other hand, loose-construction with a rotten political economy, but with every chance utilized for saving the Union. Under such circumstances there could be no doubt as to Webster's course. To break up the Union would be fatal, once and forever ; but an unsound political economy might be endured and cured. Thus was the cause of our national unity closely linked with that of an unjust and wasteful commercial policy, very much as Sinbad was handicapped when the old man of the sea sat astride his shoulders.

Animated as the discussions had become over these questions of domestic policy, they nevertheless formed less of an issue in the Presidential canvass of 1828 than the antagonism between East and West as represented by the two candidates, Adams and Jackson. The rampant and bumptious spirit of democracy, which had originally nominated Jackson in 1823 as a popular hero with whom to castigate the dynasty of Virginia planters and Harvard professors, had been growing in strength during the whole intervening period. By 1828 this feeling had acquired the force of a tidal wave, against which nothing could stand.

The two candidates were both eminently picturesque figures. The advantages of wealth, education, and social training were in a marked degree united in John Quincy Adams (Fig. 8). He was one of the most learned of our Presidents. He had been a Harvard professor. He was a trained diplomatist, and had lived much in Europe. He was an able administrative officer. In his character, along with a great excess of bitter censoriousness, there were features of true grandeur. For bulldog courage and tenacity he was much like Jackson, but in other respects a stronger contrast than the two men afforded cannot well be imagined. Curiously enough, in point of politeness and grace of manner, the backwoodsman far surpassed the diplomatist. Adams's demeanor was cold, awkward, and forbidding, so as to seem at times almost boorish ; while Jackson, on the other hand, was the incarnation of kindliness, grace, and refined dignity. His bizarre and expressive face went along with a kinglike bearing that won admiration and deference from all that met him. A man with less training and statesmanship than Jackson (Fig. 9) would have been hard to find. In his defects he represented average humanity, while his excellencies were such as the most illiterate citizen could appreciate. In such a man the ploughboy and the blacksmith might feel that in some essential respects they had for President one of their own sort. Above all, he was the great military hero of the day ; and as such, he came to the Presidency as naturally as Taylor and Grant in later days—as naturally as his contemporary Wellington, with-

out any training in statesmanship, became prime minister of England. A man far more politic and complaisant than Adams could not have won the election of 1828 against such odds. He obtained 83 electoral votes against 178 for Jackson. Calhoun was re-elected Vice-President. In the selection the votes of New York and Maryland were divided almost equally between the two candidates. Jackson got one electoral vote from Maine. All the rest of New England, with New Jersey and

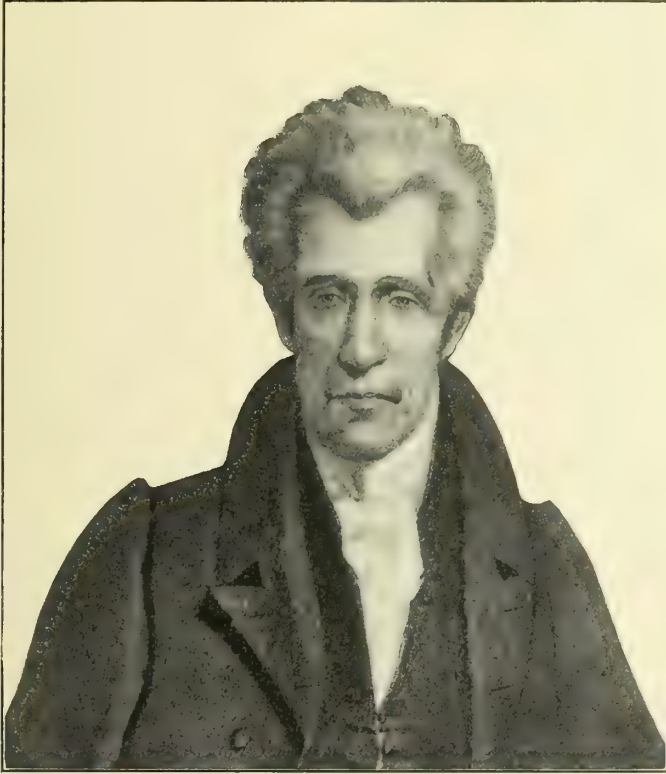


FIG. 9.—Andrew Jackson. (From a lithograph by W. Barr. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

Delaware, went for Adams. Jackson carried Pennsylvania, Virginia, both Carolinas, and Georgia, and everything west of the Alleghanies from the Lakes to the Gulf. It is said that there were many western districts in which Adams did not get a single vote. After this sweeping victory Jackson came to the Presidency with a feeling that he had at length succeeded in making good his claim to a violated right, and this feeling had its influence upon his conduct.

In Jackson's Cabinet, as first constituted, Martin Van Buren, of

New York, was Secretary of State; S. D. Ingham, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; J. H. Eaton, of Tennessee, Secretary of War; John Branch, of North Carolina, Secretary of the Navy; J. M. Berrien, of Georgia, Attorney-General; W. T. Barry, of Kentucky, Postmaster-General. With the exception of Van Buren, as compared with members of earlier Cabinets—not merely with such men as Hamilton, Madison, or Gallatin, but with such as Pickering, Wolcott, Monroe, or even Crawford—these were obscure names. The innovation in the personal character of the Cabinet was even more marked than the innovation in the Presidency. The autocratic Jackson employed his Secretaries as clerks. His confidential advisers were a few intimate friends who held no important offices. These men—W. B. Lewis, Amos Kendall, Duff Green, and Isaac Hill—came to be known as the “kitchen cabinet.” Major Lewis was an old friend who had much to do with bringing Jackson forward for the Presidency. The other three were editors of partisan newspapers. Kendall was a man of considerable ability and many good qualities, including a plentiful supply of those virtuous intentions wherewith a certain part of the universe is said to be paved. He was what would now be called a “machine politician.” On many occasions he was the ruling spirit of the administration and the cause of some of its worst mistakes. Jackson’s career cannot be fully understood without taking into account the agency of Kendall, yet it is not always easy to assign the character and extent of the influence which he exerted.

A yet more notable innovation was Jackson’s treatment of the civil service. This was the great blunder and scandal of his administration; and because we are still suffering from its effects, it is in the minds of the present generation more distinctly connected with Jackson’s memory than the various praiseworthy acts for which his administration deserves credit. The slough of debauchery in which our civil service has wallowed for half a century is perhaps the most serious of all the dangers that threaten the continuance of political freedom in America. Its foul but subtle miasma poisons and benumbs the entire body politic. The virus runs through everything and helps to sustain all manner of abominations, from grasping monopolies and civic jobbery down to political rum-shops. And, for a crowning evil, so long as it stays with us it is next to impossible to get great political questions correctly stated and argued on their merits.

Under all the administrations previous to Jackson’s, our civil service had been conducted with ability and purity, and might have been com-

pared favorably with that of any other country in the world. In those days it was as far superior to that of Great Britain as the latter is now superior to ours. Our earlier Presidents acted upon the theory that public office is a public trust, and that to treat it as a reward for partisan services is an act of sheer dishonesty deserving condign punishment. They conducted the business of government upon business principles; and so long as the postmaster showed himself efficient in distributing the mail, the base thought of turning him out because of his vote never entered their minds. During the forty years between the first inauguration of President Washington and that of President Jackson, the total number of removals from office was seventy-four, and out of this number five were defaulters. In other words, the total number of removals averaged less than two each year. During the first year of Jackson's administration, the number of changes made in the civil service is somewhat variously reckoned, inasmuch as some calculations take note of sundry petty offices which others omit; but it seems safe to state it at about 2000. Such was the sudden and abrupt inauguration upon a national scale of the so-called "spoils system." This phrase originated with W. L. Marcy, of New York, who in a speech in the Senate in 1831 declared that "To the victors belong the spoils." The man who said this was an honest gentleman of a high order of ability, and of course did not realize that his pithy remark was likely to acquire an immortality of infamy. There was certainly much aptness in the phrase, inasmuch as it was a confession that the business of American politics was coming to be conducted upon principles fit only for the warfare of savages. The Senator from New York had been reared in an atmosphere of moral malaria, for it was in the state politics of New York and Pennsylvania that the spoils system was first gradually brought to perfection. That it should sooner or later be introduced into the sphere of national politics was probably inevitable. There can be little doubt that, if Jackson had never been President, similar results would have followed at nearly the same time. If Adams had been re-elected, the catastrophe would have been deferred; but it was sure to come soon. This in no wise alters or qualifies Jackson's responsibility for the mischief, but it helps us to comprehend it in its true relations.

At that time the notion had firmly planted itself in men's minds that there is something especially democratic, and therefore meritorious, about "rotation in office." It was argued, with that looseness of analogy so common in men's reasonings about history and politics, that permanence of tenure tends to create an "aristocracy of office," and is therefore

contrary to the "spirit of American institutions." There was a general feeling abroad which likened the public offices to a large bag of sweetmeats, at which everyone must be allowed to make a grab. It was, as already observed, an age of crude experiments in democracy; and as soon as this notion had once got into men's heads, it was inevitable that the experiment of the "spoils system" must be tried, just as the experiment of an elective judiciary had to be tried. The way was prepared in 1820 by Crawford, when he succeeded in getting the law enacted that limits the tenure of office to four years. This dangerous measure excited very little discussion at the time. People could not understand the evil until taught by hard experience. As for Jackson, who was the very embodiment of honesty and honor, he would have been amazed if he had been told that he was laying the foundations of a gigantic system of corruption. He was very ready to believe ill of political opponents and to make generalizations from inadequate data. Democratic newspapers, while the campaign frenzy was upon them, were full of windy declamation about the wholesale corruption introduced into all parts of the government by Adams and Clay. In point of fact, there has never been a cleaner administration in all our history than that of Quincy Adams; but nothing was too bad for Jackson to believe of those two men, and it was quite like him to take all the campaign lies about them as literally true. When, therefore, Tobias Watkins, fourth auditor of the Treasury under President Adams, was found to be delinquent in his accounts, it was easy for Jackson to suppose that many others were in one way or another just as bad. In his wholesale removals Jackson probably labored under the delusion that he was doing the country a service by "turning the rascals out." The immediate consequence of this demoralizing policy was a struggle for the control of the patronage between Calhoun and Van Buren, who were rival aspirants for the succession to the Presidency. This struggle culminated in a quarrel which broke up the Cabinet. In order to get Calhoun's friends—Ingham, Branch, and Berrien—out of the Cabinet, the other Secretaries began by resigning. This device did not succeed, and the ousting of the three Secretaries entailed further quarrelling. By the summer of 1831 the new Cabinet was formed, consisting of Edward Livingston, Secretary of State; Louis McLane, Treasury; Lewis Cass, War; Levi Woodbury, Navy; Roger Taney, Attorney-General; in Post-office, no change. On Van Buren's resignation Jackson at once appointed him minister to England; but there was a warm dispute in the Senate over his confirmation, and it was finally defeated by the casting vote of Calhoun. This check only

strengthened Jackson's determination to have Van Buren for his successor in the Presidency. The progress of this quarrel entailed a break in the "kitchen cabinet," in which Duff Green, editor of the *Telegraph* and friend of Calhoun, was thrown out. His place was taken by Francis Preston Blair, of Kentucky, a man of eminent ability and earnest patriotism. To him and his sons, as energetic opponents of nullification and secession, our country owes a debt of gratitude which can hardly be overstated. Blair's indignant attitude toward nullification brought him at once into earnest sympathy with Jackson. In December, 1830, Blair began publishing the *Globe*, which was henceforth the organ of Jackson's party. For a period of ten years, until the defeat of the Democrats in 1840, Blair and Kendall were the ruling spirits in the administration. Their policy was to re-elect Jackson to the Presidency in 1832 and make Van Buren his successor in 1836.

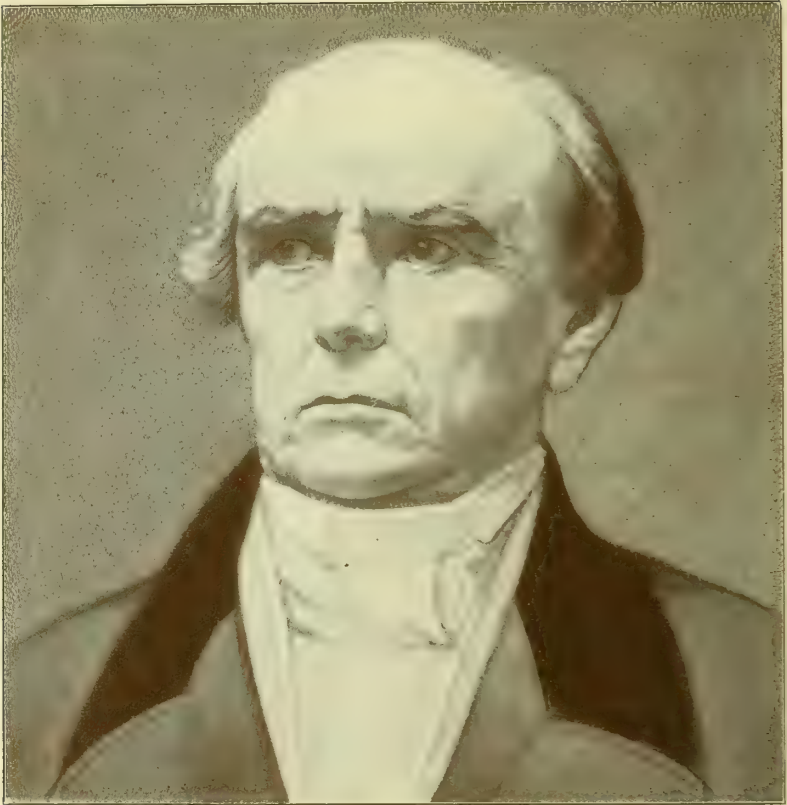
During Jackson's administration the new division of parties, which had been foreshadowed in the time of his predecessor, was completed. A decisive step was taken by Jackson in 1829, when on strict-constructionist grounds he vetoed the bill for a government subscription to the stock of the Maysville turnpike in Kentucky. Two other similar bills, which were passed shortly before the adjournment of Congress, he disposed of by a new method which his opponents indignantly dubbed a "pocket veto"; that is, he kept the bills without signing them until Congress had adjourned. The contest over the tariff, which was conducted with an acerbity greater than ever before, was especially important as bringing out a clear expression of the doctrine of nullification on the part of South Carolina. Practically, however, nullification was first attempted by the state of Georgia, in the case of the disputes with the Cherokee Indians. Under treaties with the Federal government these Indians occupied lands in Georgia which were coveted by the white people, and President Adams had made himself very unpopular by resolutely defending the treaty rights of these Indians. Immediately upon Jackson's election the state government assumed jurisdiction over their lands and proceeded to legislate for them, passing sundry laws which the Indians regarded as unfair and oppressive. Disputes at once arose, in the course of which Georgia twice refused to obey the Supreme Court of the United States. At the request of the governor of Georgia, President Jackson withdrew the Federal troops from the Cherokee country and refused to enforce the rights which had been guaranteed to the Indians by the United States. His feelings toward Indians were simply those of a frontier fighter, and he asked with sar-

casm whether an Eastern state such as New York would endure the nuisance of an independent Indian commonwealth within her own boundaries. In his sympathy with the white people of Georgia on the particular question at issue, he unconsciously for the moment connived at the dangerous principle of nullification.

These events were carefully noted by the politicians of South Carolina. The protectionist policy, which since the peace of 1815 had been growing in favor at the North, had culminated in 1828 in the so-called "tariff of abominations." This tariff, the result of a wild, helter-skelter scramble of rival interests, deserved its name on many accounts. It discriminated with especial unfairness against the people of the Southern states, who were very naturally and properly enraged by it. A new tariff, passed in 1832, modified some of the most objectionable features of the old one, but still failed of justice to the Southerners. Jackson was opposed to the principle of protective tariffs, and from his course with Georgia it might be argued that he would not interfere with extreme measures on the part of the South. The subject had a way of obtruding itself upon all sorts of discussions, as in the famous debates on Senator Foote's resolutions, which lasted over five months in 1829-30 and called forth Webster's famous speech in reply to Hayne.

In December, 1829, Samuel Foote, of Connecticut, presented to the Senate a resolution inquiring into the expediency of limiting the sales of the public lands to those already in the market, besides suspending the surveys of the public lands and abolishing the office of surveyor-general. The resolution was resented by the Western Senators, as having a tendency to check the growth of their section of the country. The debate was opened by Thomas Benton, and, week after week, increased in bitterness. A belief in the hostility of the New England states toward the West was shared by many Southern Senators, who desired to unite South and West in opposition to the tariff. On January 19, 1830, Robert Hayne, of South Carolina, attacked the New England states, accusing them of aiming by their high-tariff policy at aggrandizing themselves at the expense of all the rest of the Union. There can be little doubt that this accusation was substantially true; but naturally it did not please Daniel Webster, who on the next day delivered his "first speech on Foote's resolution," in which he answered Hayne's remarks with his usual eloquence and power. This retort provoked a long and very able reply from Hayne, in which he not only assailed Webster and New England, but set forth quite ingeniously and elaborately the doctrine of nullification. In view of the political agita-

PLATE II.



Daniel Webster.

From a mezzotint by Max Rosenthal, copyrighted by W. J. Campbell, Philadelphia.
Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.

tion then going on in South Carolina, it was generally felt that this speech would work practical mischief unless it should instantly be answered. It was finished on the 25th of January, and on the next two days Webster delivered his "second speech on Foote's resolution," better known in history as the "reply to Hayne." The debate had now lasted so long that people had come from different parts of the country to Washington to hear it, and on January 26 the crowd not only filled the galleries and invaded the floor of the Senate chamber, but occupied all the lobbies and entries within hearing, and even beyond. In the first part of his speech, Webster replied to the aspersions upon himself and New England; in the second part, he attacked with weighty argument and keen-edged sarcasm the doctrine of nullification. He did not undertake to deny the right of revolution, as a last resort in cases with which legal and constitutional methods are found inadequate to deal; but he assailed the theory of the Constitution maintained by Calhoun and his followers, according to which nullification was a right the exercise of which was compatible with loyal adherence to the Constitution. His course of argument was twofold: he sought to show, first, that the theory of the Constitution as a terminable league or compact between sovereign states was unsupported by the history of its origin, and secondly that the attempt on the part of any state to act upon that theory must necessarily entail civil war or the disruption of the Union. As to the sufficiency of Webster's historical argument, there has been much difference of opinion. The question is difficult to deal with in such a way as to reach an unassailable conclusion, and this difficulty is largely due to the fact that in the various ratifying conventions of 1787-89 the men who advocated the adoption of the Constitution did not all hold the same opinions as to the significance of what they were doing. For example, it is highly probable that Virginia would have refused to ratify the Constitution if the convention had not generally supposed that the right of secession was implicitly reserved. On the other hand, in New York, such a question was raised and decided in the negative. There was this great divergence of opinion, and plenty of room for antagonisms of interpretation to grow up, as irreconcilable as those of Webster (PLATE II.) and Calhoun. If the South Carolina doctrine distorted history in one direction, that of Webster certainly departed very materially from the record in the other; but the latter was fully in harmony with the actual course of our national development and with the increased and increasing strength of the sentiment of union at the time when it was propounded with

such powerful reasoning and such glorious eloquence in the "reply to Hayne." As an appeal to the common sense of the American people, nothing could be more masterly than Webster's demonstration that nullification practically meant revolution, and their unalterable opinion of the soundness of his argument was amply illustrated when at length the crisis came which he deprecated with such intensity of emotion in his concluding sentences. To some of the Senators who listened to the speech, as for instance Benton, it seemed as if the passionate eloquence of its close concerned itself with imaginary dangers never likely to be realized; but the events of thirty years later showed that Webster estimated correctly the perilousness of the doctrine against which he was contending. For genuine oratorical power, the "reply to Hayne" has been called the greatest of speeches since the oration of Demosthenes on the Crown. The comparison is natural, as there are points in the American orator that remind one of the Athenian. There is the fine sense of proportion and fitness, the massive weight of argument due to transparent clearness and matchless symmetry of statement, and, along with the rest, a truly Attic simplicity of diction. Webster never indulged in mere rhetorical flights; his sentences, simple in structure and weighted with meaning, went straight to the mark, and his arguments were so skillfully framed that while his most learned and critical hearers were impressed with a sense of their conclusiveness, no man of ordinary intelligence could fail to understand him. To these high qualifications of the orator was added such a physical presence as few men have been endowed with. I believe it was Carlyle who said of him, "I wonder if any man can possibly be as great as he looks." Webster's appearance was one of unequalled dignity and power. His voice was rich and musical, and the impressiveness of his delivery was enhanced by the depth of manly feeling with which he spoke. Yet, while his speeches owed so much of their effect to the look and manner of the man, they were also masterpieces of literature. Like the speeches of Demosthenes, they were capable of swaying the reader as well as the hearer, and their effects went far beyond the audience and far beyond the occasion of their delivery. As for the "reply to Hayne," it struck a chord in the heart of the American people which had not ceased to vibrate thirty years later. No other speech ever made in Congress has found so many readers or exerted so much influence upon the course of history.

Nevertheless, this memorable oration was simply an expression of Webster's opinion, in which most Americans at the North and many at

the South heartily sympathized. It did not create a precedent whereby the government might be guided in such cases. Nothing but the official action of the national executive could do that. Here Jackson promptly showed himself equal to the occasion. In April, at a public dinner in commemoration of Jefferson's birthday, after sundry regular toasts had seemed to indicate a prevailing drift of sentiment in approval of nullification, Jackson suddenly arose with a volunteer toast, "Our Federal Union : it must be preserved !" It was like a bombshell. Calhoun

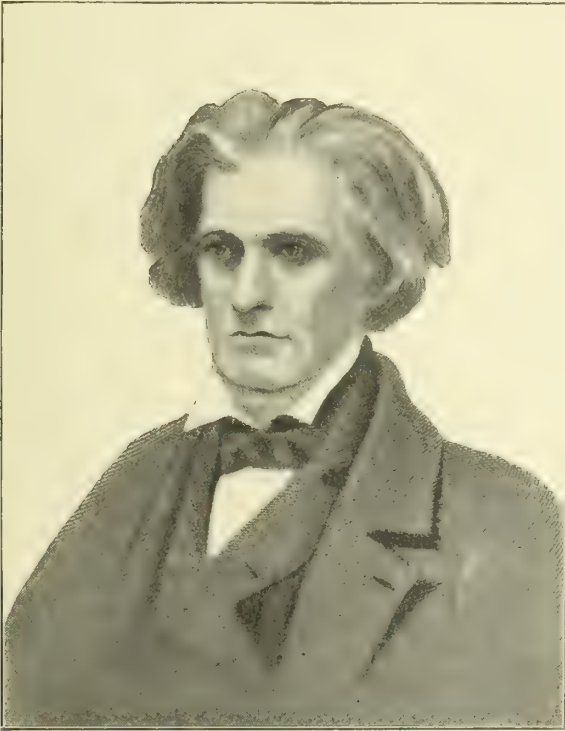


FIG. 10.—John C. Calhoun. (From an engraving by Hall. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

(Fig. 10) was prompt to reply with a toast and speech in behalf of "Liberty, dearer than the Union !" Nevertheless the nullifiers were bitterly disappointed and chagrined by Jackson's attitude. In spite of this warning, South Carolina held a convention on November 19, 1832, and declared the tariffs of 1828 and 1832 to be null and void in South Carolina ; all state officers and jurors were required to take an oath of obedience to this edict ; appeals to the Federal Supreme Court were prohibited under penalties ; and the Federal government was warned

that an attempt on its part to enforce the revenue laws would immediately provoke South Carolina to secede from the Union. The ordinance of nullification was to take effect on February 1, 1833, and preparations for war were begun at once. On December 16 the President issued a proclamation in which he declared that he should enforce the laws in spite of any and all resistance that might be made; and he showed that he was in earnest by forthwith sending Lieutenant David Farragut with a naval force to Charleston harbor and ordering General Scott to have troops ready to enter South Carolina if necessary. Robert Hayne, who was now governor of South Carolina, issued a counter-proclamation, and a few days afterward Calhoun resigned the Vice-Presidency and was chosen to succeed Hayne in the Senate. Jackson's resolute attitude was approved by public opinion throughout the country. By the Southern people generally the action of South Carolina was regarded as precipitate, if not unconstitutional. Even in that state a Union convention met at Columbia and announced its intention of supporting the President. In January, Calhoun declared in the Senate that his state was not hostile to the Union and had not meditated an armed resistance. A "peaceable secession" to be accomplished by threats was probably the ultimatum really contemplated. In spite of Jackson's warning of the previous April, the nullifiers were surprised by his unflinching attitude and complained of it as inconsistent with his treatment of Georgia. When the first of February came, the nullifiers deferred action. In the course of that month a bill for enforcing the tariff passed both Houses of Congress, and at the same time a compromise tariff brought forward by Henry Clay was adopted, providing for the gradual reduction of duties until 1842, after which all duties were to be kept at 20 per cent. Webster regarded this well-meant compromise as pernicious, since it enabled the nullifiers to claim a victory and retreat from their position with colors flying. Calhoun, indeed, afterward pointed to the issue of the contest as conclusively proving the beneficent character of his theory of nullification. Here, he said, by merely threatening to nullify an obnoxious—and, as he maintained, unconstitutional—act of Federal legislation, South Carolina had secured its repeal, and all was pleasant and peaceful! It was not Jackson, however, but Clay, that Calhoun had to thank for the compromise; nor were the nullifiers by any means as well satisfied as he tried to believe.

The nullifiers, indeed, had made a great mistake when they inferred from Jackson's attitude toward Georgia that they could count upon his aid or connivance in the case of South Carolina. The insubordination

of Georgia was shown in refusing to obey a decree of the Supreme Court, and Jackson had no love for the Supreme Court. He is said to have exclaimed, absurdly and maliciously, "John Marshall (Fig. 11) has made his decision; now let him enforce it!" But the nullification act of South Carolina was a direct challenge to the executive head of the United States government. He could therefore see its bearings in an instant, and it instantly called into action all his unfathomable fund of belligerent obstinacy. It is evident that at



FIG. 11.—John Marshall. (From an etching by Albert Rosenthal, after the original portrait by St. Memin. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

that particular moment Jackson was the right man in the right place. His action created a precedent which in the supreme crisis of 1861 even the puzzled and irresolute Buchanan could not afford to disregard.

Under the heads of civil service and nullification we have indicated the most important incidents of Jackson's administration. Inferior only to these in importance was his war upon the United States Bank, which he began in his first annual message to Congress in 1829. His antipathy to such a bank, in which the Federal government was a shareholder and virtually to some extent a director, had been shown as long

before as Washington's administration, when the bank was first established. For two reasons it was especially obnoxious to the people of the South and Southwest, and to the Democratic party generally. In the first place, the question as to the constitutional authority of Congress to establish such an institution was pre-eminently the test question between strict constructionists and loose constructionists. In the great fight between them it played the part that Round Top played in the battle of Gettysburg; once let the enemy carry that point, and the whole field would be lost. The contest over the assumption of state debts had faded out of sight before Jackson's Presidency. The contest over protective tariffs had only lately become severe. But there the bank had been standing for nearly forty years, a perpetual menace to the theory of strict construction. President Madison had reluctantly signed the bill for its re-charter in 1816, apparently because he could think of no practicable alternative. The new charter was to expire in 1836, and President Jackson, in his determination that it should not again be renewed, was restrained by no such practical considerations.

In the second place, the bank was hated as the most prominent visible symbol of Hamilton's plan for an alliance between the Federal government and the moneyed classes of society. In this feeling there was, of course, something of the dull prejudice which ignorant people are apt to entertain against capitalists and corporations. But the feeling was, in the main, wholesome. There was really good reason for fearing that a great financial institution, so intimately related to the government, might be made a formidable engine of political corruption. The final result of the struggle, in Tyler's Presidency, seems to show that Jackson was supported by the sound common sense of the American people.

Jackson's suggestions with reference to the bank in his first message met with little favor, especially as he coupled them with suggestions for the distribution of the surplus revenue among the states. He returned to the attack in his two following messages, and produced so much effect that in 1832 the bank felt obliged, in self-defence, to apply somewhat prematurely for a renewal of its charter on the expiration of its term. Charges brought against the bank by Democratic Representatives were investigated by a committee, which returned a majority report in favor of the bank. A minority report sustained the charges. After prolonged discussion the bill to renew the charter passed both Houses, and on the 10th of July, 1832, was vetoed by the President. An attempt to pass the bill over the veto failed of the requisite two-thirds majority.

Circumstances had already given a flavor of personal contest to

Jackson's assaults upon the bank. The detested Clay, his chief political rival, made the grave mistake of forcing the bank question into the foreground, in the belief that it was an issue upon which the National Republicans were likely to win in the coming Presidential election. Clay's movement was an invitation to the people to defeat Jackson at the polls in order to save the bank, and this naturally stirred Jackson's combativeness to the point of fury. His determined stand impressed upon the popular imagination the picture of a dauntless "tribune of the



FIG. 12.—Nicholas Biddle, President of the Bank of the United States. (From a mezzotint by Cousins, after a painting by Sully. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

people" fighting against the "monster monopoly." It was also a mistake on Clay's part to risk the permanence of such an institution as the United States Bank upon the fortunes of a Presidential campaign. It dragged the bank into politics in spite of itself, and, by thus affording justification for the fears to which Jackson had appealed, played directly into his hands.

In the campaign of 1832, three political parties were in the field. One of these, known as the Anti-Masons, afforded a good illustration

of the ephemeral parties which from time to time in the United States are formed with reference to some temporary side-issue, or which furnish a vent for some sudden wave of excitement. In the summer of 1826 a certain William Morgan, a native of Virginia, was living at Batavia, in Western New York. For reasons best known to himself, this Morgan wrote a book revealing the secrets of the society of Free-Masons, of which he was a member. In the course of that summer it was whispered about that such a book was in preparation, and presently Morgan disappeared. There is good reason for believing that he was drowned in the Niagara River, but the publication of his book was not thereby prevented. His mysterious disappearance caused intense excitement throughout the United States. Many people declared that a society which could countenance such outrages ought to be summarily suppressed, and upon this issue was founded the political party known as Anti-Masons.

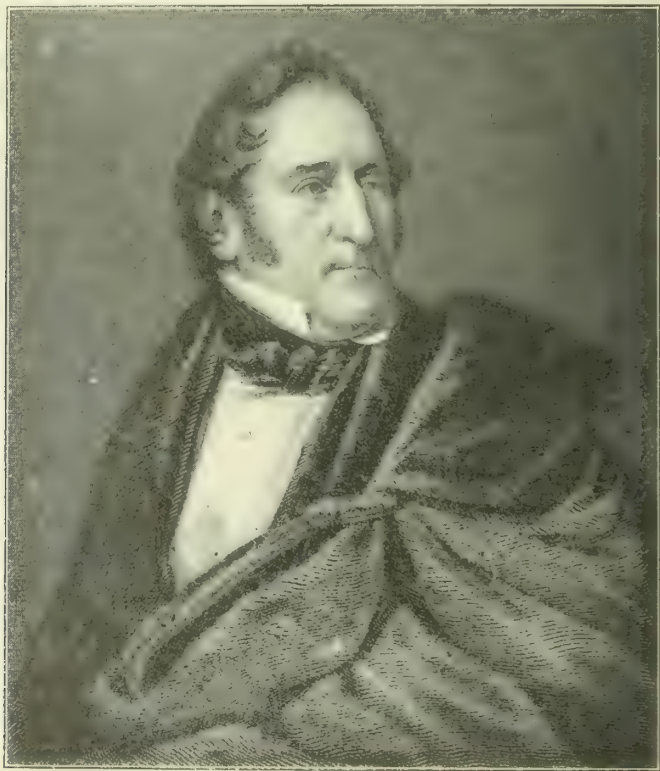
In this campaign, all the candidates were for the first time nominated in national conventions. There were three such conventions, all held at Baltimore, and at a much longer interval before the election than is now customary. In September, 1831, the Anti-Masons nominated William Wirt, of Virginia, in the hope of getting the National Republicans to unite with them; but the latter, in December, nominated Clay. In the following March the Democrats nominated Jackson, with Van Buren for Vice-President. During the year 1832 the action of both Congress and President with regard to the bank charter was virtually a part of the campaign. In the election, South Carolina voted for candidates of her own: John Floyd, of Virginia, and the sturdy free-trader, Henry Lee, of Massachusetts. This pair of candidates received the eleven votes of South Carolina, while the seven votes of Vermont were given to Wirt. As for Clay, besides his own state, he carried Maryland and Delaware, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. All the rest of the country went for Jackson, who had 219 electoral votes against Clay's 49. Jackson interpreted this overwhelming victory as a popular condemnation of the bank and approval of all his actions as President. The enthusiastic applause from all quarters which now greeted his rebuke of the nullifiers served still further to strengthen his belief in himself as a "saviour of society" and champion of "the people." Men were getting into a state of mind in which questions of public policy were no longer argued on their merits, but all discussion was drowned in cheers for "Old Hickory," as Jackson was affectionately called by his admirers. Such a state of things was not calculated

to curb his natural vehemence and disposition to override all obstacles in carrying his point. He now felt it to be his sacred duty to demolish the bank. In his next message to Congress he created some alarm by expressing doubts as to the bank's solvency and recommending an investigation to see if the deposits of public money were safe. In some parts of the country there were indications of a run upon some branches of the bank. The Committee on Ways and Means investigated the matter and reported the bank as safe and sound, but a minority report threw doubt upon these conclusions, so that the public uneasiness was not allayed. The conclusions of the members of the committee, indeed, bore little reference to the evidence before them, and were determined purely by political partisanship.

Jackson's mind was made up that the deposits of public money must be removed from the bank. The act of 1816, by which that institution had been renewed, provided that the public funds might be removed from it by order of the Secretary of the Treasury, who must, however, inform Congress of his reasons for the removal. As Congress resolved by heavy majorities that the deposits were safe in the bank, the spring of 1833 was hardly a time when a Secretary of the Treasury would feel himself warranted, in accordance with the provisions of the act, in ordering their removal. Secretary McLane was accordingly unwilling to issue such an order. In May, McLane was transferred to the State Department and was succeeded in the Treasury by William Duane, of Pennsylvania, son of the editor of the *Aurora*. The new Secretary, however, became convinced that the removal was neither necessary nor wise; and in spite of the President's utmost efforts, refused either to issue the order or to resign his office. In September, accordingly, Duane was removed, and Roger Taney, of Maryland, appointed in his place. Taney at once ordered that after the first of October the public revenues should no longer be deposited with the national bank, but with sundry state banks which soon came to be known as the pet banks.

The announcement of this order caused great excitement. In the next session of the Senate, Clay introduced a resolution censuring the President, which was carried after a debate that lasted all winter. It contained a declaration that the President had assumed "authority and power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." Jackson protested against this resolution, but the Senate refused to receive his protest. Many of his appointments were rejected by the Senate, especially those of the directors of the bank, and of Taney as Secretary of the Treasury. An attempt was made to curtail the Presi-

dent's appointing power; while on the other hand, many of the President's friends declaimed against the Senate as an aristocratic institution which ought to be abolished. Benton (Fig. 13) was Jackson's most powerful and steadfast ally in the Senate. He was determined that the resolution of censure should be expunged from the records of that body, and his motion continued to be the subject of acrimonious debate



Thomas Benton.

FIG. 13.—Thomas H. Benton.

for two years. The contest was carried into the state elections, and some Senators resigned in consequence of instructions received from their state legislatures. At length, on the 16th of January, 1837, a few weeks before Jackson's retirement from office, Benton's persistency triumphed, and the resolution of censure was expunged.

Some of Benton's biographers, of the opposite political party, have

laughed at him for his expunging resolution, and have called his conduct boyish and spiteful. It would be more instructive to observe that his conduct was the natural outgrowth of the extreme theory of popular government which he held, and which he was fond of calling by a grotesque phrase of his own invention, "the *demos krates*" principle. He looked upon Jackson as a disinterested tribune of the people, who, for carrying out the popular will and ridding the country of an exceedingly dangerous institution at the cost of some slight disregard of red tape, had incurred unmerited censure; and it seemed to him an important matter, and not a mere idle punctilio, that such a wrongful verdict should be reversed. This view seemed plausible to the men of that day who sympathized with Benton, yet manifestly, if pushed to extremes, it would result in unbridled democracy, which in the hands of a powerful and unscrupulous leader may easily pass into Caesarism. Webster and Clay, therefore, in opposing this extreme view of popular government, in contending for the fundamental necessity of constitutional checks in such a country as ours, and in blaming Jackson for his autocratic manner of overriding such checks, were quite right.

The great commercial panic which came four years after Jackson's removal of the deposits was by many people supposed to have been one of the consequences of that act, and this notion has gained some currency among writers of history. Evidences presently to be adduced will show that this notion is entirely incorrect, and that the causes of the great panic lay much deeper than was understood at the time; but before coming to this point, a word must be said about foreign affairs, in which Jackson's administration won great credit through its enforcement of the French spoliation claims. Sundry European nations, as well as the United States, had suffered from spoliations committed by French cruisers during the Napoleonic wars. European nations which had claims for damages against France on this account had found no difficulty after the peace of 1815 in obtaining payment, but the claims of the United States had been superciliously neglected. In 1831, after much fruitless negotiation, a treaty was made by which France agreed to pay the United States five million dollars in six annual instalments. The first payment was due February 2, 1833. A draft for the amount was presented to the French minister of finance, and payment was refused on the ground that no appropriation for that purpose had been made by the chambers. King Louis Philippe brought the matter before the chambers, but no appropriation was made. Jackson was not the man to be trifled with in this way. In his message of December, 1834,

he gravely recommended to Congress that a law be enacted authorizing the capture of French vessels enough to make up the amount due. The French government was enraged beyond measure, and threatened instant war unless the President should apologize; not a hopeful sort of demand to make of Andrew Jackson. Here Great Britain interposed with good advice to France, which led to the payment of the claim without further delay. The effect of Jackson's attitude was not lost upon European



FIG. 14.—Osceola or Asseola. (From McKenney's "Indian Tribes," vol. ii.)

governments, while at home the hurrahs for Old Hickory were louder than ever. The days when foreign powers could safely insult us were evidently gone by. It is hardly to the credit of our government that, after having received this money, it showed no alacrity in paying the claims of the individual sufferers and their heirs, so that even now, after the lapse of a full century, many of the claims are still unsettled.

It is now time for us to treat of the origin of the Whig party, a

subject which has been almost uniformly misunderstood and misrepresented by Northern historians. The case is very intimately connected with the career and opinions of John Tyler. It is customary for Northern writers to identify the Whigs with the National Republicans, and to represent Tyler as a renegade Whig, who, when accidentally raised to the chief executive office, disappointed legitimate expectations which the Whig party had been led to entertain concerning him. A more grotesque distortion of history can nowhere be found. In point of fact, the Whig party was the result of a coalition between the National Republicans and an important party at the South. We must give some account of this Southern party. It will be remembered that the separation of the all-embracing Republican party into National Republicans and Democrats was beginning under President Adams, and completed itself during President Jackson's first term. It was not accomplished in a moment. People did not march off at a given signal and all at once array themselves in opposite ranks. There was doubt and hesitation, and general principles were, then as now, complicated and obscured by real or fancied local interests. But by 1832 the Democrats had become solidly welded together into a party, with a rational and well-defined policy and leaders of great ability and influence, as variously exemplified in Jackson, Benton, Van Buren, and Blair. They were opposed to the theory of paternal government which formulated itself in internal improvements, tariff, and bank; and in order to sustain their position, they were inclined to construe the Constitution strictly and maintain that its implied powers did not extend so far as to justify such a theory. On the other hand, the National Republicans, under the able leadership of Clay, Adams, and Webster, were flatly opposed to the Democrats on all these points. But such a survey of the political situation in 1832 is far from complete. We have not yet taken into the account the peculiar relations of the people of the Southern states toward the two new parties, as it was affected, whether directly or indirectly, whether avowedly or tacitly, by the existence of their peculiar institution, negro slavery. From the outset, Southern politicians were quick in perceiving that the security of their system of slavery depended upon that interpretation of the Constitution which should restrict as far as possible the implied powers to be exercised by the Federal government. Herein, as strict constructionists, they might seem to have found it easy to harmonize with the Jackson Democrats as against the National Republicans. But there was no such harmony. When South Carolina in 1832 flung into the political arena the gauntlet

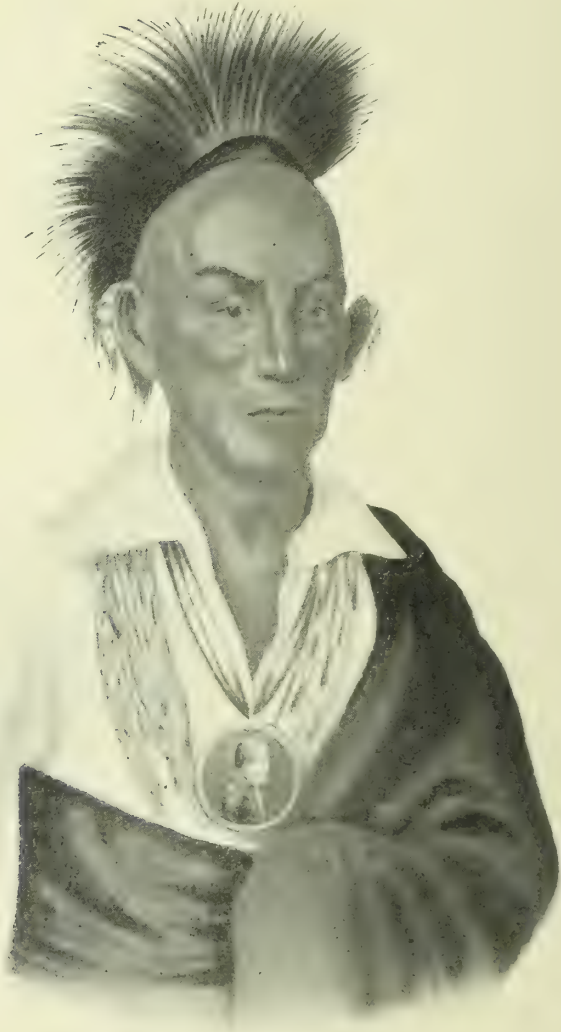


FIG. 15.—Black Hawk. (McKenney's "Indian Tribes," vol. i.)

of nullification, she found Jackson and his Democrats even more staunch in defence of the Union than Clay and his National Republicans. At that supreme moment Daniel Webster, whose political existence was identified with defence of the Union without regard to party, was in alliance with Jackson, while Clay was dallying and temporizing with Calhoun.

In order to explain this, we must take our start from the South and

see how the political situation in 1832 presented itself to the Southern people. We know what was the attitude of Calhoun and of South Carolina; it represented the impulse which thirty years later urged the Southern people into rebellion. But there was also in the Southern states a mass of political beliefs and sentiments which, without agreeing with Calhoun and with South Carolina, agreed still less with Jackson and Webster and the North. The same current of Southern opinion that was loth to go with Calhoun, but felt itself in honor bound to make protest against coercion as threatened by President Jackson, was the



Washington Irving

Sunnyside Dec-15th 1851

FIG. 16.—Washington Irving. ("Magazine of American History," vol. xii.)

same current of opinion and sentiment that in 1861 was loth to go with Jefferson Davis, but felt itself in honor bound to resist coercion as exercised by President Lincoln. This feeling was especially strong in the border states. It would never take the lead in a movement toward secession, but might be reluctantly driven into such a movement as a choice between conflicting alternatives. Nowhere was this feeling stronger than in Virginia, and in no public man was it more completely exemplified than in John Tyler. For studying the sources and the

growth of this feeling, there is no better text-book than the "Letters and Times of the Tylers," three octavo volumes edited by one of John Tyler's younger sons, Dr. Lyon Gardiner Tyler, president of William and Mary College. This interesting book gives us a sketch of the political history of the United States for a hundred years, as viewed by the intelligent and public-spirited members of one of the leading families of Virginia. The elder John Tyler, born in 1747, occupied many positions of honor and trust and was at one time governor of Virginia. In 1785 he was associated with Madison in securing the conference at Annapolis in the following year, which led the way toward the Federal



FIG. 17.—Sunnyside, the home of Washington Irving. ("Magazine of American History," vol. xii.)

Convention. But when the Federal Constitution was laid before the people, Tyler was one of those who thought that it encroached too much upon state rights, and in the state convention of 1788 he was conspicuous among the opponents of ratification. He was one of those, moreover, who believed that the assent of Virginia to the Constitution could not have been secured but for the belief of many of the delegates that the right of the state to withdraw peaceably from the Union, in case it should ever see fit to do so, was not really surrendered. The younger John Tyler, born in 1790, was graduated at William and

Mary at the age of seventeen, and four years later was elected to the Virginia legislature. One of his earliest public acts had marked significance with regard to his future career. In 1811 the question of renewing the charter of the United States Bank was before Congress. The bank was very unpopular in Virginia; and the assembly of that state, by a vote of 125 to 35, instructed its Senators at Washington, Richard Brent and William Giles, to vote against the re-charter. The instructions denounced the bank as an institution in the founding of which Congress had exceeded its powers and grossly violated state rights. Yet there were many in Congress, who, without approving the principle upon which the bank was founded, thought the eve of war an inopportune season for making a radical change in the financial system of the nation. Of the two Virginia Senators, Brent voted in favor of the re-charter, while Giles spoke on the same side; and although in obedience to instructions he voted contrary to his own opinion, he did so under protest. On hearing of this, Tyler in the Virginia legislature introduced resolutions of censure in which the Senators were sharply upbraided, while the Virginia doctrines, as to the unconstitutional character of the bank and the binding force of instructions, were explicitly asserted. From 1816 to 1821, as a member of Congress, Tyler showed himself on every occasion the most consistent and rigorous of strict constructionists. After his election to the United States Senate in 1826, he took a conspicuous stand against the tariff of 1828. But while on this and other fundamental questions he agreed with the Democrats, he strongly condemned the tendencies toward unbridled democracy that were visible in Jackson and Benton, and he had no sympathy with the popular opposition to nominations by the Congressional caucus. In the Presidential election of 1832 he supported Jackson, but only as a less objectionable candidate than Clay, Wirt, or Floyd. The preference accorded to Jackson over Floyd would indicate that the President's immortal Union toast had not seriously alarmed Tyler, who disapproved of nullification and condemned the course of South Carolina as at least rash and ill-considered. Herein Tyler was wiser than Calhoun. On the question of the tariff, the South had really a strong case; and to throw down the gauntlet of nullification was simply to offer the chances of victory to the North.

But when it came to suppressing nullification with the strong hand, Tyler's attitude was curiously significant. His opposition to President Jackson's proclamation was most emphatic. He denounced it as a "tremendous engine of Federalism," tending toward the consolidation

of the states into a single political body. His attitude in 1833 was substantially the same as in 1861, when secession had become a grim reality. In the earlier crisis, as in the later, he tried to stand upon the ground that while secession might be wrong, coercion was a greater wrong. This was the mental attitude that in 1861 led Virginia to join the Southern Confederacy and made Tyler in the last year of his life a member of the Confederate Congress. And as in 1861 the secession of Virginia was preceded by the assembling of a peace convention of border states, with Tyler for its president, so now in 1833 he undertook to play the part of mediator between Clay and Calhoun, and in that capacity earnestly supported the compromise tariff bill brought forward



W. Gilmore Simms

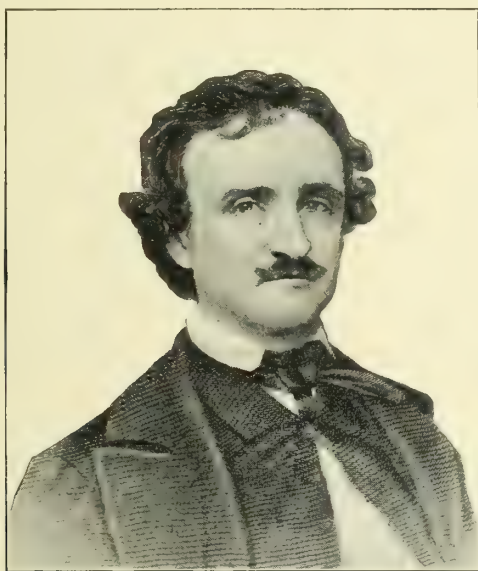
FIG. 18.—W. Gilmore Simms.

by Clay. In this measure, which we have seen Webster opposing as a mischievous concession to the threats of South Carolina, we may see a premonitory symptom of that alliance between the followers of Tyler and those of Clay which presently resulted in the formation of the Whig party.

At the same time occurred the sudden and decisive break between Tyler and Jackson. In a special message to Congress, the President asked for full and explicit authority to use the army and navy so far as might be necessary, for the purpose of suppressing armed insurrection. Congress readily responded with the so-called "force bill," and here

Tyler showed that he had the courage of his convictions. When the bill was put to vote in the Senate, some of its Southern opponents were conveniently absent, others got up and went out in order to avoid putting themselves on record. The vote, as then taken, stood: Yeas, thirty-two; Nays, one—to wit, John Tyler.

It was thus on the question of the right of the Federal government to use force in suppressing nullification that the Southern strict constructionists discovered that there was no room for them within the Democratic party as represented by Jackson, Van Buren, Benton, and



Edgar A. Poe

FIG. 19.—Edgar Allan Poe.

Blair. In this conclusion the peculiar features of Jackson's attack upon the United States Bank only confirmed them. When it came to the removal of the deposits, Tyler's break with the administration was thorough and final. As we have seen, he was no friend to the bank; he had fought against it on every fitting occasion since the beginning of his public career. And now in 1834 he declared, "I believe the bank to be the original sin against the Constitution, which in the progress of our history has called into existence a numerous progeny of usurpations.

Shall I permit this serpent, however bright its scales or erect its mien, to exist by and through my vote?" Nevertheless, strongly as he disapproved of the bank, Tyler disapproved still more strongly of the methods by which President Jackson assailed it. There seemed to be growing up in the United States a spirit of lawless democracy quite foreign to the thoughtful spirit in which our constitutional government, with its carefully arranged checks and limitations, was founded. It was an impatient and bumptious spirit that prompted mere majorities to insist upon having their way, even at the cost of overriding all constitutional limits. This wild spirit possessed too many members of Jackson's party. An illustration of it was to be seen in Benton's argument, after the election of 1824, that Jackson, having received a plurality of electoral votes, ought to be declared President, and that the House of Representatives in choosing Adams was really "defying the will of the people." In similar wise, President Jackson, after his triumphant re-election in 1832, was inclined to interpret his huge majorities as meaning that the people were ready to uphold him in any course that he might see fit to pursue. This feeling no doubt strengthened him in his attitude toward the nullifiers, and it certainly contributed to his arbitrary method of dealing with the bank. The removal of the deposits seemed to illustrate the tendency of unbridled democracy toward practical despotism under the leadership of a headstrong and popular chief. Tyler saw in it such a tendency, and he believed that the only safeguard for constitutional government, whether against the arbitrariness of Jackson or the latitudinarianism of the National Republicans, lay in a most rigid adherence to strict-constructionist doctrines.

Accordingly, in a speech delivered February 24, 1834, Tyler proposed to go directly to the root of the matter and submit the question of a national bank to the people in the shape of a constitutional amendment, either expressly forbidding or expressly allowing Congress to create such an institution. He seems to have found Clay and Webster ready to adopt this suggestion, while Calhoun held aloof. Nothing came of the project, but long-sighted persons might have seen the alliance fast maturing between the Northern National Republicans and those Southerners who agreed with Tyler. In December, 1834, as member of a committee for investigating the management of the bank, the latter brought in an elaborate report which did not sustain Jackson's charges of mismanagement, and was accordingly attacked by Benton as a partisan defence of the bank. This doubtless served to confuse the minds of people as to Tyler's real attitude. Before the smoke of the

battle had cleared away, people would not distinguish between disapproval of Jackson's methods and approval of the bank ; they would consider the one as equivalent to the other, and so they did.

An incident which occurred the next year served to confirm this view. On Clay's resolution to censure the President for the removal of the deposits, Tyler had voted, along with Webster, in the affirmative. While Benton's resolutions for expunging the vote of censure were before the Senate, the Democratic legislature of Virginia instructed the two Senators from that state to vote in the affirmative. As to the binding force of such instructions, Tyler had long ago, in the case of Giles and Brent above mentioned, placed himself unmistakably upon record. His colleague, Benjamin Watkins Leigh, was known to entertain similar views. On receiving the instructions, both Senators refused to obey them. Both voted against the expunging resolution ; but Leigh kept his seat, while the rigidly consistent Tyler resigned and went home. The result of this, for Leigh, was to be retirement to private life ; for Tyler, it was to be elevation to the Presidency.

He had already been recommended for the Vice-Presidency by the legislatures of several Southern states. During the year 1834 the Whig party came into existence. At the North the National Republicans, the party of Clay and Webster, were beginning to call themselves Whigs ; while the Southern strict constructionists gladly took the name of "state-rights Whigs." Between these two wings of the new party there was no bond of union whatever, except their common hostility to the Jackson Democrats. Their alliance was as unnatural as that of Fox and North against Lord Shelburne in 1783, or as that of John Bright with Lord Salisbury against Mr. Gladstone in 1889. The protective theory of government, with its tariff, bank, and internal improvements, which was the fetish of the Northern Whigs, was to the Southern Whigs a device of Belial. Even in their common hatred of Jackson, they did not stand upon common ground ; for the Northern Whigs hated him for his staunch opposition to paternal government, while the Southern Whigs hated him for the severity with which he frowned upon nullification. The nearest approach to real sympathy between the two discordant allies was furnished by Tyler and Webster, in so far as they were agreed for the moment in condemning the violence of Jackson's proceedings in the particular case of the bank. And it was in this one point of sympathy that the name "Whig" had its origin. They called themselves Whigs because they saw fit to represent Jackson as a sort of unconstitutional tyrant, like George III., and for a moment they tried

to stigmatize Jackson's followers as "Tories," but the latter device was unsuccessful.

The alliance was so unnatural that it took some time to complete it. In 1836 there was no agreement upon a candidate for the Presidency. The state-rights Whigs nominated Hugh Lawson White, of Tennessee, for President, and John Tyler for Vice-President. The Northern Whigs, in the hope of gathering votes from as many quarters as pos-

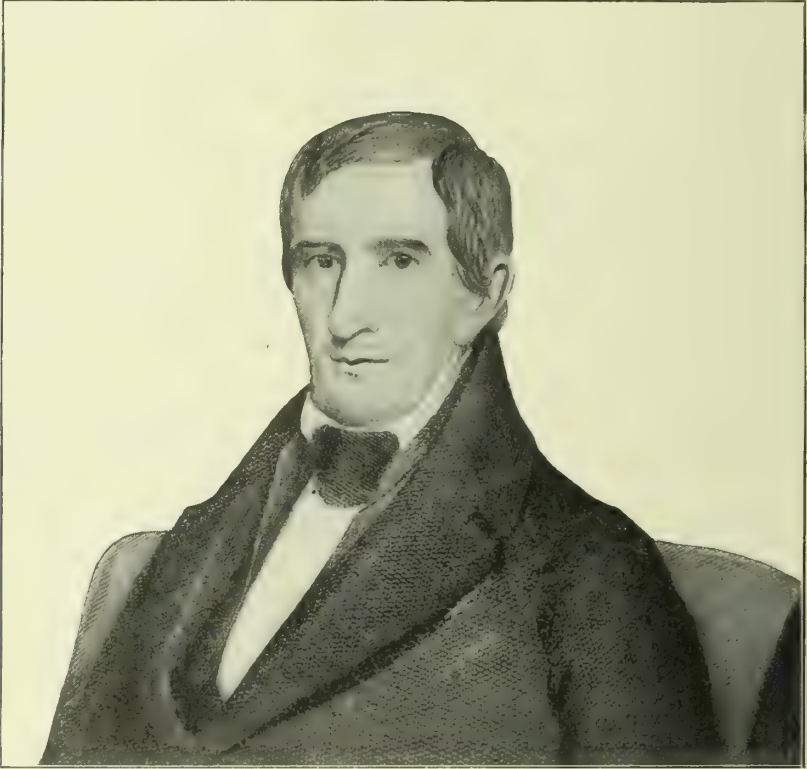
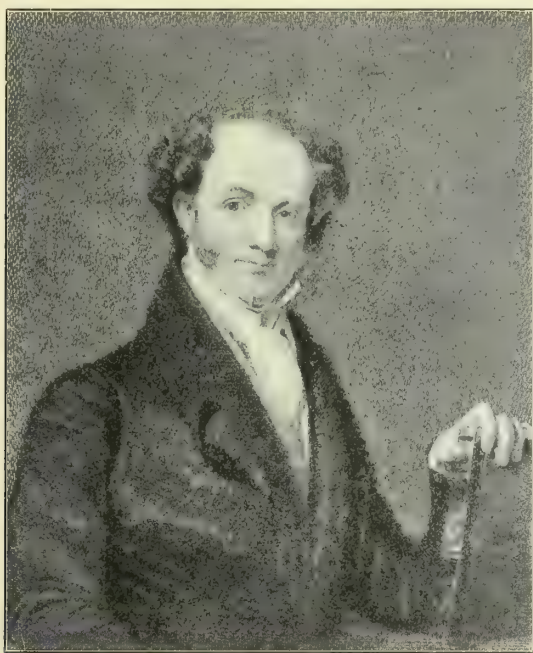


FIG. 20.—William Henry Harrison. (From an engraving by Pelton & Kimberly, after a painting by Hoit. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

sible, thought it best to put forward some more colorless candidate than their real leader, Clay; and accordingly they nominated General William Henry Harrison (Fig. 20). This gentleman was the son of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, who was twice elected governor of Virginia, and in the state convention of 1788 was allied with the elder Tyler in opposing the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In 1791 the younger Harrison broke off his studies at Hampden-Sidney College to take a commission in the army on the Western fron-

tier, commanded by Anthony Wayne. In 1800 he was appointed superintendent of Indian affairs and governor of the Indiana territory. When war with the Indians broke out prematurely in 1811, he defeated Tecumseh's brother, the Prophet, in a bloody and decisive battle at Tippecanoe, on the Upper Wabash. In the following year he was appointed to the chief command of the United States forces in the Northwest, and in October, 1813, he won the battle of the Thames over the allied British and Indians commanded by General Proctor and



M Van Buren

FIG. 21.—Martin Van Buren. (From an engraving by E. Wellmore, after a painting by Inman.)

Tecumseh. This battle, in which Tecumseh was killed and nearly the whole British force surrendered, was decisive of the war in the Northwest, and the two victories gave Harrison a military reputation second only to Jackson's. After the war he was a Representative in Congress and for a short time Senator. In 1836 he had for some time been living in retirement upon his farm. On the political questions that were dividing Whigs from Democrats he had done little or nothing to commit himself; and in making him their standard-bearer, the Whigs

sought to turn to their own uses the same kind of popular enthusiasm by which Jackson had profited. But this ill-organized opposition had no chance of winning a victory over the solid Democratic column. Many votes were thrown away. South Carolina, still fighting her own battle, voted for Person Mangum, a state-rights Whig. Massachusetts voted for Daniel Webster. White obtained the eleven votes of Georgia and the fifteen of Tennessee; for the latter state, in spite of all her reverence for Jackson, did not approve his policy of coercion and could not be induced to support Van Buren (Fig. 21). Harrison carried Vermont, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana—in all, 73 votes. The opposition had hoped that with so many candidates in the field there would be enough bolting and scattering to prevent a choice by the people, and throw the election into the House of Repre-

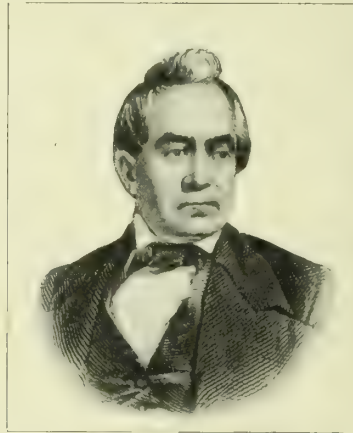


FIG. 22. —Silas Wright.

sentatives. But Van Buren won an easy victory, receiving 170 electoral votes, a majority of 46 over the other candidates taken together. The result of the canvass for the Vice-Presidency was curious. Richard Johnson, the Democratic candidate, obtained exactly half the number of votes in the electoral college, so that there was no choice. For the only time in our history the election devolved upon the Senate, which forthwith chose Johnson. What especially concerns us is the vote for Tyler. He failed to carry his own state, for Virginia had become firmly Democratic, and remained so until 1860; but he ran ahead of his fellow-candidate, White, and, besides Tennessee and Georgia, he received the votes of Maryland and South Carolina.

Martin Van Buren, the new President, was on both his father's and

his mother's side descended from the old Dutch settlers of New Netherland. He had been known for years as one of the ablest lawyers in the state of New York, as well as a party leader of consummate skill. He was a member of that famous coterie known as the "Albany Regency," which numbered among its leaders such men as Silas Wright (Fig. 22), John Dix, Dean Richmond, and Benjamin Franklin Butler (a gentleman in no wise related to his Massachusetts namesake of the civil war period). No group of men in American history can be pointed out more sound in political opinions, or with a more intelligent grasp of the true principles of civil government, than this Albany Regency. They were consistent advocates of sound currency and determined enemies of paternalism in all its forms, as well as of slavery and secession. Had our government been generally conducted during the next fifty years upon their principles, there might not have been so many colossal fortunes as at present, but there would have been a far wider diffusion of comfort and happiness, with fewer strikes and much less talk of socialism. But this was not to be. The administration of Van Buren was wrecked by the severest financial crisis ever known in this country; and scarcely had the community recovered from its effects, when the slavery question came up to vex American politics, until the great civil war relieved us of one deadly evil while saddling us with burdens that will not soon be removed.

It was believed by the Whigs in Van Buren's time that the frightful tempest in the commercial world was wholly or chiefly due to Jackson's assaults upon the United States Bank; and this opinion has been so confidently stated as a fact, and so often reiterated, that it has come to be one of the commonplaces of history. Yet, like many other such commonplaces, like many other things which everybody knows, it is not true. The causes of the panic of 1837 lay deeper than any acts of any administration. The seeds of distress had been so plentifully sown that an abundant crop must have been garnered, no matter whether a Whig or a Democrat were occupant of the White House, no matter whether the public funds were deposited in one great bank or in fifty small ones. For a thorough and masterly statement of the case, the reader may be referred to Mr. Edward M. Shepard's book on Van Buren, but some of its main features may be briefly indicated here.

At the time of Van Buren's inauguration, the seventeen years since 1820 had witnessed a wonderful increase of the country in wealth and population, while the rapidity of expansion westward had been surprising. Tennessee had nearly doubled in population, Indiana had more than trebled, Missouri had increased fivefold, Michigan twentyfold. A

transformation was going on in cities. In 1820 New York (Fig. 24) and Philadelphia, with populations a little over 100,000, had hardly ceased to look like country towns; by 1835 the former had passed 250,000, and the latter 200,000, so that they were beginning to take on the look of large cities. In 1820 the national debt was \$90,000,000; by 1835 every cent of it was paid, and there was a surplus in the Treasury, a fact which powerfully impressed people's imaginations both here and in Europe. This prosperity was the cause of endless self-glorification, and it was apt to be ascribed to American institutions in a greater degree than to the natural resources of the country. Those were the days when Martin Chuzzlewit listened to so much "tall talk" from Elijah Pogram



FIG. 23.—Chicago in 1832. Wolf's Point.

and Jefferson Brick. It seemed as if nothing were impossible to American enterprise, and confidence grew into recklessness. It was an era of road-building. In 1820 it cost \$88 to carry a ton of freight from Buffalo to Albany; in 1825 the Erie Canal was finished, and that ton could be carried that distance for \$21.50; in 1835 it could be carried for \$6.50. Thus the Erie Canal gave an unprecedented stimulus to the growth alike of New York and of the West. In 1830 there were 23 miles of railroad in the United States; in 1836 there were 1273 miles. During the same six years the steamboat tonnage on our Western rivers increased nearly sixfold, and the cotton crop in the Southwestern states was doubled, while the price

of raw cotton rose from 10 to 20 cents a pound, so great was the increase in the demand for the factories of England. Such sudden and surprising changes disturbed people's conceptions of value and bewildered them in their forecasts. So long as desired land was in some new region, it acquired an imaginary value, without much reference to its real relations to the development of the country, which time alone could disclose. For example, the valuation of real estate in Mobile in 1831 was little more than \$1,000,000; in 1837 it was more than \$27,000,000; by 1846 it had shrunk to less than \$9,000,000. Now, assuming that the increase from \$1,000,000 in 1831 to nearly \$9,000,000 in 1846



FIG. 24.—View of New York City from Brooklyn Heights, about 1840.

represents real growth, we may regard the greater part of the intervening figure of \$27,000,000 as representing the heated fancies of men in the Atlantic states and in Europe, anxious to invest their money where it would make them suddenly rich. The extent of the mania in Europe was indicated by the striking fact that although between 1830 and 1837 we bought from foreign countries \$140,000,000 worth of merchandise in excess of what we sold to them, we received from them at the same time \$45,000,000 in specie in excess of what we paid to them. The account was balanced by the shares taken by European capitalists in American enterprises.

This rage for speculation led to immense purchases of Western

public lands. At that time anybody who chose could buy these lands at the fixed price of \$1.25 per acre, whether he intended to settle upon them or not. Speculators began buying extensive tracts in order to sell them at a greatly advanced price. Between 1820 and 1829 the annual sales of public lands by the United States government averaged about \$1,300,000. Between 1830 and 1834 they averaged from \$3,000,000 to \$5,000,000; in 1835 they leaped up to \$15,000,000, and in 1836 to \$25,000,000. The money spent in buying these remote unimproved lands, and in taking stock in railroads projected for reaching them, was thus abstracted from the ordinary and safe occupations of industry and commerce. There was thus a great demand for ready money, and in the prevailing spirit of boundless confidence it was met by an enormous increase of banks and bank-credits. Between 1830 and 1836 the banking capital of the United States rose from \$60,000,000 to \$250,000,000, the loans and discounts from \$200,000,000 to \$450,000,000, and the note circulation from \$60,000,000 to \$140,000,000. Thus the elements of a prodigious commercial crisis were all at hand. There was the wholesale dealing in property that had only fictitious values; there was the wholesale creation of indebtedness, and the attempt to pay it, Micawber-like, with paper promises to pay. Perhaps Jackson's withdrawal of the government deposits from the United States Bank and distribution of them among fifty state banks may have helped to increase the mania for speculation; but it is evident that the madness was already beyond control and fast hurrying to a crisis.

A far worse measure, for which both parties in Congress were responsible and which Jackson ought to have vetoed, was the distribution of the surplus. The extinction of the national debt came to diminish the outgo, just as the great sales of public lands came to swell the income; and so in 1836 there was a surplus of \$37,000,000, which Congress decided to divide among the states and pay over in four quarterly instalments, beginning on New Year's Day, 1837. The prospect of this largess simply added to the general craze.

By the summer of 1836 the bubble had been blown to such dimensions as perhaps had not been seen since the celebrated South Sea Bubble of 1720. To prick and explode such airy nothings, it is only necessary that a few purchasers should begin to awake to their delusion and a few creditors should begin to ask for hard cash. By 1836 there were others than Martin Chuzzlewit who had learned to their cost that Aladdin's lamp was not to be found in malarial swamps on the Mississippi River. Just then there was a creditor who made demands, and

that creditor was the United States government. In July the Secretary of the Treasury issued the famous "specie circular," requiring payments for public lands to be made in specie. Stringency of the money market had already begun to be felt, because the issue of paper had not kept pace with the feverish demand. Now the stringency increased with fearful rapidity. The crash began in January, 1837, when the first quarter of the surplus was paid out by the deposit banks. So large a sum of money could not be moved without calling in loans and awakening apprehension. Western banks began calling for specie to pay their debts to the government; confidence died out in Europe, and gold began flowing thither to balance accounts. Prices had become so inflated, and money so hard to get, that mobs in the city of New York shouted for cheap food; and with true mob logic proceeded to destroy a great warehouse by way of making flour cheaper. In the course of the spring there was a collapse of prices and a collapse of credit. All over the country the banks suspended payment, widows and orphans who had taken stock in railroads leading to Eden were reduced to live upon charity, coin disappeared, and there was a partial return to barter; a pair of shoes would be paid for in soup-tickets or chips receivable for drinks of whiskey; in some places men found it impossible to get work on any terms.

Such in its main outlines was the financial crisis of 1837. It was natural that the President should be made the scapegoat for the sins of the people. The Whigs had predicted mischief from the overthrow of the national bank. People now attributed the panic to that cause and to the issue of the specie circular. The mischief, they said, was the work of government, and now government must cure it. A few strokes of President Jackson's pen had wrought all the evil, and it must be undone by a few strokes from President Van Buren's. A new bank must be chartered, the specie circular rescinded, and plenty of paper issued. If Van Buren had yielded to this popular clamor, the crisis would very likely have proved as obstinate as that of 1873, the length of which can plainly be traced to inconvertible paper. Van Buren understood that the disease was not one which government could cure, and he set this forth with admirable courage and force in his message to Congress, which Mr. Shepard rightly calls one of the greatest of American state papers. So far from advocating a re-charter of the bank, Van Buren led in the establishment of the present Sub-Treasury system, by which the government is completely divorced from banking. This was the great achievement of his administration, and one of the

most important events in American history. But the Whigs had naturally taken advantage of the troubles to raise a cry for paternal government, and for the moment they found many willing listeners. There was a general revolt against this hard-hearted administration which had done nothing to relieve the distress of the people. That distress continued with more or less fluctuation, and in 1839 there was a recurrence of panic, though on a comparatively small scale. For the single purpose of defeating Van Buren, all differences of policy were subordinated. In the Whig convention at Harrisburg, which met December 4, 1839, almost a year before the election, no platform of principles was



FIG. 25.—Charles Brockden Brown. (From an engraving by Forrest from a miniature by Dunlay. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

adopted. The unformulated platform was, "Anything to beat Van Buren." It was now the turn of the Whigs to appeal to the frontier prejudices of the West against the aristocratic East by renominating General Harrison, who in the days of Tecumseh and Tippecanoe had lived in a log cabin and had on his table none of your French champagne, but good hard cider. Naturally Tyler, as a leader of the Southern or state-rights Whigs, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. In the uproarious campaign that followed there was less appeal to reason and a more prodigal use of clap-trap than in any other Presidential contest in our history. The chief features were long processions

in which log cabins mounted on wheels were dragged about, and kegs of hard cider were broached, while in stump speeches the heartless Van Buren was accused of having a silver service on his table and otherwise aping British manners. A kind of Lilliburlero was sung, with its chorus :

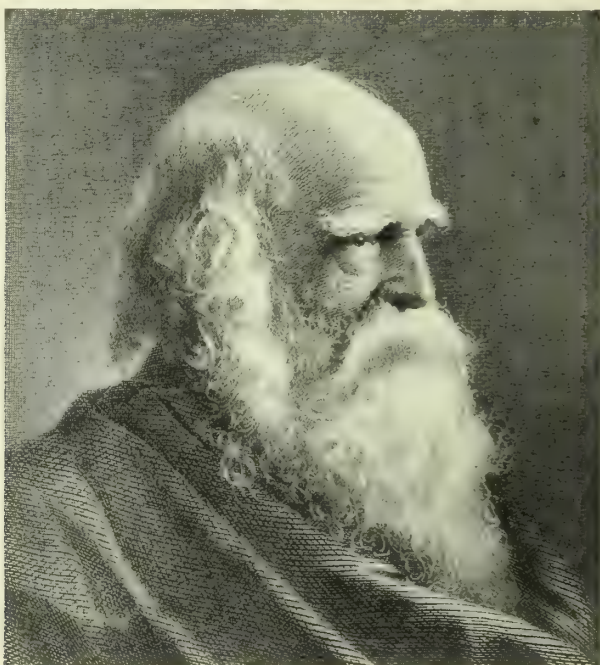
"For Tippecanoe and Tyler too—Tippecanoe and Tyler too;
And with them we'll beat little Van, Van.
Van is a used-up man;
And with them we'll beat little Van."

One day in September, 1840, a Whig procession bigger than anything of the sort that had ever been seen in Boston was marching to Bunker Hill, when there came up a heavy thunder-shower which wet those Whig enthusiasts to the skin; but that same evening in Faneuil Hall a popular orator improved the occasion with the sentiment, "Any rain but the reign of Van Buren."

Thus, borne upon a wave of popular excitement, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were carried to the White House. There were 234 electoral votes for Harrison and 60 for Van Buren. But a glance at the figures of the popular vote shows that then, as always in American politics, the approach to equilibrium was too close for a party to presume too much upon the triumph of the moment. Harrison's vote was 1,275,016; Van Buren's was 1,129,102; and there was a third candidate, James Birney, who obtained only about 7000 votes and carried no state. He stood for the abolition of negro slavery, and at that moment counted for little.

The inauguration of the new government in March, 1841, brought with it some surprises. Perhaps the only distinct pledge to the people during the clamorous canvass had been the promise of civil service reform. That promise had been definite enough to induce some Democrats to vote for the Whig candidates, but it now appeared that the Whig idea of reform agreed substantially with Jackson's: it was summed up in "turning the rascals out." The pressure of office-seekers at the White House was so great that some good people thought the worry and turmoil enough to account for President Harrison's death. However that may be, the immediate cause was pneumonia. He died April 4, just one month after his inauguration, without having done anything to indicate his policy. Among the Northern Whigs there was little doubt as to what that policy ought to be. Clay was their real leader, and they regarded Harrison as a mere figurehead candidate, selected for what in political slang is called availability. Doubt-

less, most people at the North who voted for Harrison did so in the belief that his election meant the victory of Clay's theory of government in the re-establishment of the national bank and the increase of tariff duties. Clay's own conduct showed so plainly that he regarded the election as his own victory that Harrison felt called upon to administer a rebuke. "You seem to forget, sir," said he, "that it is I who am President." He offered Clay the Secretaryship of State; and when Clay refused it because he preferred to stay in the Senate, it was given to Daniel Webster.



William Cullen Bryant

FIG. 26.—William Cullen Bryant.

But whatever President Harrison's policy might have been, there could be no doubt that his sudden death, in raising Tyler to the Presidency, created an unlooked-for situation. It has been the habit of Whig writers to speak of Tyler as a renegade, and to slur over the circumstances of his candidacy by declaring that at the time of his nomination his views on public questions, and in particular on the bank, were little known. In fact, there was no man in the United States in

1840 whose opinions had been more distinctly or more boldly declared; and if the Whig leaders had sinned in nominating him, they had certainly sinned with their eyes wide open. In the ill-yoked alliance of which the Whig party was born, the elements of a fierce quarrel were scarcely concealed, and the removal of President Harrison was all that was needed to kindle the flames of strife. "Tyler dares not resist," said Clay; "I'll drive him before me." On the other hand, the new President declared, "I pray you to believe that my back is to the wall, and that, while I shall deplore the assaults, I shall, if practicable, beat back the assailant," and he was as good as his word.

Congress met in extra session May 31, 1841, the Senate standing 28 Whigs to 22 Democrats, the House 133 Whigs to 108 Democrats. In his opening message, President Tyler briefly recounted the recent history of the United States Bank, the Sub-Treasury system, and other financial schemes, and ended with the significant words, "I shall be ready to concur with you in the adoption of such system as you may propose, reserving to myself the ultimate power of rejecting any measure which may, in my view of it, conflict with the Constitution or otherwise jeopard the prosperity of the country; a power which I could not part with, even if I would, but which I will not believe any act of yours will call into requisition." The challenge was promptly accepted by Congress. The ground was cleared for action by a bill for abolishing Van Buren's Sub-Treasury system, which passed both Houses and was signed by the President. But an amendment offered by Clay for the repeal of the law of 1836 regulating the deposits in the state banks was defeated by the votes of a small party led by William Rives. The great question then came up. Tyler's constitutional objection to the United States Bank had always been that Congress had no power to create such a corporation within the limits of a state without the consent of the state ascertained beforehand. He did not deny, however, the power of Congress to establish a district bank for the District of Columbia, and, provided the several states should consent, there seemed to be no reason why this district bank should not set up its branch offices all over the country. Clay's so-called "fiscal bank" bill of 1841 did not make proper provision for securing the assent of the states, and on that ground Rives proposed an amendment to the effect that such assent should be formally secured. This amendment was supported not only by several state-rights Whigs, but also by Senators Richard Bayard, Rufus Choate, and other friends of Daniel Webster. If adopted, its effect would have been conciliatory, and it might perhaps

have averted for a moment the rupture between the ill-yoked allies. The Democrats, well aware of this, voted against the amendment, and it was lost. The bill incorporating the fiscal bank of the United States was then passed by both Houses, and was promptly vetoed by the President. An attempt to pass the bill over the veto failed of the requisite two-thirds majority.

The Whig leaders had already shown a disposition to entrap the President. Before the passage of Clay's bill, John Miner Betts was sent to the White House with a private suggestion for a compromise. Tyler refused to listen to the suggestion except with the understanding

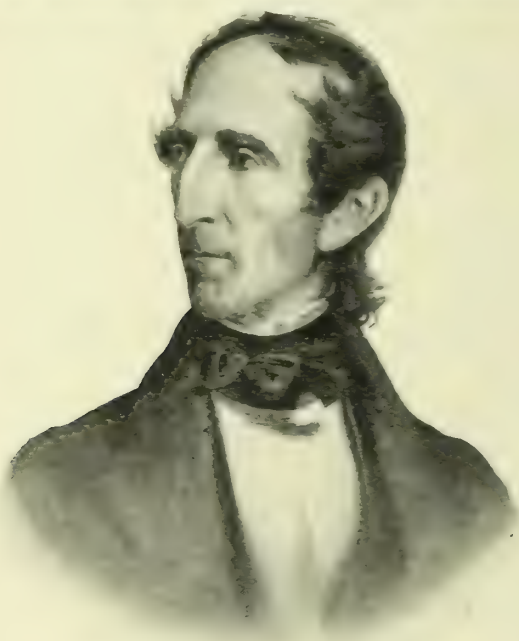


FIG. 27.—John Tyler. (From a lithograph from life by G. S. Inval. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

that, should it meet with his disapproval, he should not hear from it again. The suggestion turned out to be a proposal that Congress should authorize the establishment of branches of the district bank in any state of which the legislature at its very next session should not expressly refuse its consent to any such proceeding; and that, moreover, in case the interests of the public should seem to require it, even such express refusal might be disregarded and overridden. This was loose construc-

tion with a vengeance. It was hoped that in this way the obnoxious institution might first be established in the Whig states and then forced upon the Democratic states in spite of themselves. The President indignantly rejected the suggestion as "a contemptible subterfuge behind which he would not skulk." The device, nevertheless, became incorporated in Clay's bill, and hints were spread abroad that it was put there in order to smooth the way for the President to adopt the measure. His refusal to avail himself of the opportunity was cited as a proof of unreasonable obstinacy. After his veto of Clay's bills, these tortuous methods were renewed. Messengers went to and fro between the President and members of his Cabinet on the one hand, and leading Whig members of Congress on the other, conditional assurances were translated into the indicative mood, whispered messages were magnified and distorted, and presently there appeared upon the scene an outline of a bill which it was assumed the President would sign. This was known as the "fiscal corporation" bill. Like the fiscal bank bill, it created a bank in the District of Columbia, with branches throughout the states, and it made no proper provision for the consent of the states. The President had admitted that a "fiscal agency" of the United States government, established in Washington for the purpose of collecting, keeping, and disbursing the public revenue, was desirable, if not indispensable; a regular bank of discount, engaged in commercial transactions throughout the states, and having the United States government as its principal shareholder, and Federal officers exerting a controlling influence upon its directorship, was an entirely different affair—something, in his opinion, neither desirable nor permissible. In the fiscal corporation bill, an attempt was made to hoodwink the President and the public by a pretence of forbidding discounts and loans and limiting the operations of the fiscal agency exclusively to exchanges. While this project was maturing, the Whig newspapers fulminated with threats against the President in case he should persist in his course; private letters warned him of plots to assassinate him; and Clay in the Senate referred to his resignation in 1836, and asked why, if constitutional scruples once more hindered him from obeying the will of the people, did he not now resign his lofty position and leave it for those who could be more compliant? To this it was aptly replied by Rives that "the President was an independent branch of the government as well as Congress, and was not called upon to resign because he differed in opinion with them." Some of the Whigs seem foolishly to have hoped that such a storm could be raised as would browbeat the

President into resigning, whereby the government would be temporarily left in the hands of William Southard, then president *pro tempore* of the Senate. But Tyler was neither to be hoodwinked nor bullied. The fiscal corporation bill was passed by the Senate on Saturday, September 4, 1841; on Thursday, the 9th, the President's veto message was received; on Saturday, the 11th, Thomas Ewing, Secretary of the Treasury, John Bell, Secretary of War, George Badger, Secretary of the Navy, John Crittenden, Attorney-General, and Francis Granger, Postmaster-General, resigned their places. The adjournment of Congress had been fixed for Monday, the 13th, and it was hoped that, suddenly confronted by a unanimous resignation of the Cabinet and confused by want of time in which to appoint a new one, the President would give up the game. But the resignation was not unanimous, for Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, remained at his post; and on Monday morning the President offered to the Senate for confirmation the names of Walter Forward for Secretary of the Treasury, John McLean for Secretary of War, Abel Upshur for Secretary of the Navy, Hugh Legaré for Attorney-General, and Charles Wickliffe for Postmaster-General. These excellent appointments were duly confirmed.

Whether the defection of Webster at this moment would have been so fatal to the President as some Whigs were inclined to believe, may well be doubted; but there can be no doubt that his adherence to Tyler was of great value. His reason for remaining in the Cabinet is a sufficient answer to the superficial writers who charge Webster with opportunism and want of moral courage. A complication of difficulties with Great Britain had seemed to be bringing us to the verge of war. There was the long-standing dispute about the northeastern boundary, which had not been adequately defined by the treaty of 1783; and along with the renewal of this controversy there came up manifold complications involved in the cases of the steamer *Caroline*, the slave-ship *Creole*, and others. The Oregon question, too, was looming in the background. In disentangling these difficulties, Webster showed rare tact and discretion. He was fortunately helped by the change of ministry in England, which transferred the management of foreign affairs from Lord Palmerston to the Earl of Aberdeen. Edward Everett was then in London, and Webster secured his appointment as minister to Great Britain. In response to this appointment Lord Ashburton, whose friendly feeling toward the United States was well known, was sent over on a special mission to the United States; and the result was the Ashburton treaty of 1842, by which an arbitrary conventional line was

adopted for the northeastern boundary. It was also agreed that Great Britain and the United States should each keep its own squadron to watch the coast of Africa for the suppression of the slave-trade. This clause of the treaty was known as the "cruising convention." The old grievance of the impressment of seamen, which had been practically abolished by the American naval victories of 1812-15, was now formally ended by Webster's declaration that henceforth American vessels would not submit themselves to be searched. All things considered, the Ashburton treaty was a signal diplomatic triumph for the United States. In the hands of an ordinary statesman, the affair might easily have ended in war; but Webster's management was so skillful that as we look back upon the negotiation we find it hard to realize that there was any real danger. Perhaps there could be no more satisfactory measure of his success.

It was while these negotiations were going on that the resignation of Tyler's Cabinet took place. Webster remained at his post in order to avoid jeopardizing the treaty with Great Britain. The Northern Whigs were inclined to attribute his conduct to unworthy motives, and no sooner had the treaty been signed, in August, 1842, than the newspapers began calling upon him to resign. The treaty was ratified in the Senate by a vote of 39 to 9; but it had still to be adopted by Parliament, and Webster remained at his post in spite of popular clamor until he knew the treaty to be quite safe. In the hope of driving him from the Cabinet, the Whigs in Massachusetts held a convention and declared that President Tyler was no longer a member of their party. On a visit to Boston in September, Webster made a noble speech in Faneuil Hall, in the course of which he declared that he was neither to be coaxed nor driven into an action that in his own judgment was not conducive to the best interests of the country. He well knew that by such independence he was likely to injure his chances for nomination to the Presidency. He knew that a movement in favor of Clay had begun in Massachusetts, and that his own course was adding to its impetus. But then, as always, Webster's patriotism rose superior to all personal considerations. In May, 1843, having seen the treaty firmly established, he resigned the Secretaryship, but was once more elected to the Senate two years later.

It was now open war between the two departments of government. Sundry leading Whig members of Congress issued addresses to the people, in which they declared that "all political connection between them and John Tyler was at an end from that forth." Only a few

Whig members, commonly known as "the corporal's guard," recognized Tyler as their leader; but now the Democratic members found it worth their while to come to his support. The state elections of 1841 showed symptoms of a popular reaction in favor of the President's views. As the spectre of the great commercial crisis faded away in the distance, people began to recover from the sudden impulse that had swept the country in 1840, and the popular demand for a national bank soon died away. Tyler had really won a victory of the first magnitude, as was conclusively proved in 1844, when the Presidential platform of the Whigs, accompanied by Clay himself as candidate, was careful to make no allusion whatever to the bank! On this crucial question the doctrines of paternal government had received a crushing and permanent defeat.

In the next session of Congress the strife was renewed, but it was tariff, not bank, that furnished the subject of discussion. The lowering of duties by the compromise tariff of 1833 had diminished the revenue until it was insufficient to meet the expenses of government. The Whigs accordingly carried through Congress a bill continuing the protective duties of 1833, and providing that the surplus revenue, which was thus sure to accumulate soon, should be distributed among the states. But the compromise act of 1833, in which Tyler had played an important part, had promised that the protective policy should come to an end in 1842. Both on this ground and because of the provisions for distributing the surplus, the President vetoed the new bill. Congress then devised and passed another bill, providing for a tariff "for revenue with incidental protection," but still contemplating a distribution of the surplus if there should be any. The President vetoed this bill. Congress received his message with indignation, and on the motion of John Quincy Adams it was referred to a committee, which condemned it as an unwarrantable assumption of power, and, after a caustic review of Tyler's acts as President, concluded with an allusion to impeachment. This report called forth from the President a formal protest; but the victory was already his. The Whigs were afraid to go before the country in the autumn elections with the tariff question unsettled, and the bill was accordingly passed by both Houses without the distributing clause, whereupon the President signed it. As a parting menace, the distributing clause was then passed in a separate bill; but a pocket veto sufficed to dispose of it. Congress adjourned on the last day of August, 1842, and in the autumn elections the Whig majority of 25 in the House of Representatives gave place to a Democratic majority of 61.

Thus, as the net result of twenty years of political agitation, since the election of John Quincy Adams to the Presidency had raised new political issues, we find the Whig theory of paternal government everywhere discomfited. The bank was too completely dead to find mourners; the policy of internal improvements remained strictly on the defensive; the tariff was reduced to such a point that we were abreast with England in the march toward free trade, and our foreign commerce was



FIG. 28.—Andrew Jackson. (From an unlettered engraving in the collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

fast coming to rival that of England, when the awful calamity of the Civil War introduced a different state of things. Viewed in its large relations, the work achieved by Jackson (Fig. 28), Van Buren, and Tyler was a noble victory for the sound Democratic doctrine of “government of the people, by the people, and for the people.”

The period of these three Presidents was one of the most remarkable in the history of the world, and nowhere more remarkable than in the

United States. It was signalized by the introduction and rapid development of railroads, of ocean navigation with Eriesson's invention of the screw propeller, of agricultural machines, anthracite coal, and friction matches, of the modern type of daily newspaper, of the beginnings of such Western cities as Chicago (Fig. 23), of the steady immigration from Europe, of the rise of the abolitionists and other reformers, and of the blooming of American literature, when to the names of Bryant (Fig. 26), Cooper, Brockden Brown (Fig. 25), and Irving (Figs. 16, 17) were added those of Longfellow, Whittier, Prescott, Holmes, Hawthorne, Simms (Fig. 18), and Poe (Fig. 19). The rapid westward expansion of the country and the extensive changes in ideas and modes of living brought to the surface much crudeness of thought and action. It was pre-eminently the era of bumptious democracy; but along with all the bustle and brag, the prevailing tendencies were sound and wholesome. One of these tendencies was the growth of the humanitarian spirit which for more than a century had been visible throughout the civilized world, and nowhere more than in the United States. One of the symptoms of this spirit was the growing opposition to slavery among the people of the Northern states. It is now time that we should return to the slavery question, which toward the close of Tyler's administration became the dominant political issue, and so remained until it was finally settled at the cost of a desolating war.

CHAPTER II.

THE SLAVE POWER.

WITH the lapse of ages, the vicissitudes in human opinion are truly remarkable. In the age of Elizabeth, it does not appear that anybody regarded the enslavement of inferior races of men as in any way reprehensible. On the contrary, it received commendation as a lucrative branch of trade ; so that Sir John Hawkins, a most worthy and pious man, for opening up the African slave-trade was complimented by Queen Elizabeth with a crest described in heraldic language as “a demi-Moor proper bound with a cord.” When the English colonies in America were founded, there were at first very few negro slaves in any of them ; but that was not because of any popular feeling opposed to slavery. As a rule, it was either approved or comfortably acquiesced in by the people of all the colonies. Under the stress of economic pressure it became more firmly established in the Southern colonies than in the Northern. The difference was purely economic, so that if the settlers of the Northern colonies had settled in the South, they would unquestionably have developed in the same direction as the Southern people ; while if the settlers of the South had settled at the North, their attitude toward slavery would have been what that of the North has been. It is proper, therefore, that the history of slavery in the United States should be treated dispassionately and without any reference to what is called sectional feeling.

From the earliest times, the number of negro slaves introduced into the Northern colonies was comparatively small. In New England, and likewise in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, the holdings of real estate were comparatively small, and it was customary for each proprietor to cultivate his own land. In New York, where the manorial estates were sometimes very large, the labor was contributed by free white tenants. In either case there was no demand for cheap labor on a large scale, and such black slaves as were introduced into the community were employed for the most part in light domestic service. In Pennsylvania there was from the outset a considerable class of free blacks, which was continually increased by the voluntary manumission of slaves. In

none of the Northern colonies can negro slavery be said to have had any economic importance, although New England vessels carried on a more or less lucrative slave-trade by selling African negroes in Southern ports. The only Northern state which had a large negro population was Pennsylvania, where at the time of the Revolution it numbered perhaps 100,000, a large proportion of whom were free. Between 1780 and 1784 the states of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania prohibited the further importation of slaves and enacted that all children henceforth born of slave parents should be free. In 1785 New York enacted that all such children should not only be free, but should be granted the suffrage. In the state of Massachusetts, where there were about 6000 negroes, slavery was already practically extinct in 1780, and about that time it was pronounced by the Supreme Court of the state to be incompatible with its new constitution. Soon afterward all these negroes were granted the suffrage; there were so few of them that such a gift was not attended with political perils. It is often asserted by Southern writers that the New England states got rid of their negro population by selling it to the South, and thereafter took on airs of virtue and upbraided their Southern brethren for holding slaves. This is one of those sweeping statements, so common in the field of history, which are easy to make and repeat, but not always easy to submit to any really critical test. That slave-holders in New England may now and then have sold their slaves to Southern purchasers is in a high degree probable, but that such proceedings went so far as to produce any appreciable effect upon the colored population of New England is quite another matter. If the sweeping statement in question were correct, we ought to be able to point to a marked diminution in the number of negroes in New England coincident with their measures for abolishing slavery. It is believed that no such wholesale transfer of negroes ever took place, but that the mass of New England's colored population, which was at no time other than small, passed gradually from the condition of slavery to that of freedom.

Very different was the course of events in the states south of Mason and Dixon's line. The cultivation of tobacco upon large estates in Maryland and Virginia created a strong demand for cheap labor. During the greater part of the seventeenth century this demand was supplied by servile white labor imported from the British Islands, but toward the close of the century the importation of negroes from Africa increased considerably in volume. A great era in the history of American slavery was inaugurated in 1713 by the *Asiento* clause of the treaty

of Utrecht, which transferred from Spain to England the monopoly of the slave-trade on the western coast of Africa. The influx of slaves thereafter became so rapid that by the middle of the century they were beginning in Virginia to outnumber the white population, and this state of things created much uneasiness. In 1769 the Virginia legislature prohibited the further importation of negroes to be sold into slavery, but by a royal order in council George III. caused this act to be vetoed. In 1778 a similar prohibitory measure was introduced and carried by Thomas Jefferson. Five years afterward a similar prohibition was enacted in Maryland. Three years later North Carolina took a step in the same direction by charging a custom-house duty of five pounds upon every negro brought in from abroad. In the three Southern states here mentioned, there was a very considerable party opposed to slavery on principle and inclined to favor measures for gradual emancipation. In the states of South Carolina and Georgia, different economic conditions produced different results. Although negro labor was found useful in cultivating tobacco, nevertheless it was not indispensable; the object could be attained by cheap white labor. But the cultivation of rice and indigo, which then formed the great staples of South Carolina and Georgia, could be carried on only by negro labor. Those crops were grown in marshy and malarious soils, upon which it was impossible for white people to live. Take away the negro, therefore, and apparently the instant ruin of the community was certain. The alternative of free labor conducted by negroes was something which nobody contemplated as possible. Our experience since 1865 seems to show that in spite of all that is truly said about the shiftlessness of the negro, nevertheless he works more efficiently as a free laborer than as a slave. The cultivation of the great Southern staples has in these latter years increased more rapidly than the total Southern population, in spite of the fact that large quantities of labor have been drafted off into manufactures, coal-mining, and gardening for the Northern markets. The implication would seem to be that negroes are better producers when paid wages than when held in slavery. But probably before 1865 there were very few white persons in the Southern states who could have been made to believe in the possibility of such a result. Especially in South Carolina and its sister states on the Gulf, where the problem took a deeper hold upon life than elsewhere, the only conceivable alternatives were slave labor or starvation. It was not strange, therefore, but perfectly natural, for the pro-slavery sentiment to be strong in those states; for until human nature becomes different

from what history has found it to be, it will not ordinarily entertain sentiments of wholesale justice and humanity when its very existence seems to be threatened by indulging them. It was strictly logical for the Pinckneys in the Federal Convention of 1787 to demand that the importation of slaves from Africa should not be suddenly stopped. The New England states were anxious that Congress should be able to pass laws regulating commerce by a simple majority. Virginia, as we have elsewhere seen, desired that a two-thirds vote should be requisite, for fear of New England securing the passage of tariff and navigation acts that would be unfair to the South. This fear entertained by Virginia was, as we have seen, amply justified by the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832, and has been more than justified by the whole series since 1862. We have seen how New England carried its point by supporting the compromise which prolonged the African slave-trade until 1808. Our account of the Federal Convention also mentioned another compromise which allowed the slave-holding states to be represented in Congress in the proportion of three-fifths of their negro population added to their total white population. The effect of this measure was for many years to increase quite heavily the proportional weight of the slave-holding states in the lower House of Congress.

It is doubtful if any effective Federal Union could have been formed without these compromises or without the additional provision for restoring fugitive slaves to their owners. There were many people at the time opposed to making such concessions, for the moral sense of the civilized world with regard to the subject had undergone great improvement since the time of Sir John Hawkins, or even since the treaty of Utrecht. But even among the opponents of these concessions there was a general belief that slavery was destined soon to die a natural death. But in the actual complexity of human affairs, that which is most unexpected is very often that which is most likely to happen. It has been often pointed out how Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793, coinciding with the rapid development of steam-driven spinning machines and power looms in England, gave an unprecedented stimulus to the cultivation of cotton. Previous to the Revolution, the cultivation of cotton had been quite subordinate to that of indigo and rice; but after the year 1800, cotton speedily became the king of all Southern staples and the autocrat of Southern political life. The statement has often been made that after the stoppage of the African slave-trade the rapid development of the cotton industry in our Gulf states created such a demand for slaves from the border states north of them that Virginia

and Kentucky became great breeding-grounds for the supply of the market in human flesh. It has been further said that this state of things diminished the strength of the anti-slavery feeling in the border states. These statements have created more or less indignation in Kentucky and Virginia, as if they were intended to convey some slur upon human nature as it exists in those states. It appears to me that the statements are in the main true, and that human nature, being in those states very much what it is in other parts of the world, has from time to time shown sentiments that have been more or less determined by economic considerations. As David Harum says, "The's as much human nature in some folks as th' is in others, if not more." If the population of Massachusetts and Connecticut had occupied the soil of the border states in the early half of the nineteenth century and under similar economic conditions, I feel quite sure that their feelings of opposition to slavery would have diminished instead of increasing in strength. As to the fact, I think there can be little doubt. Whoever will compare the language used by George Mason in the Federal Convention in 1787 with that used by the wife of his grandson in her correspondence with Lydia Maria Child in 1859, will be convinced that the moral atmosphere of Virginia with reference to the right or wrong of slavery had materially changed.

Not to do injustice, however, to the people of that grand old state or of the border states generally, it should be borne in mind that this change of moral atmosphere was not the simple result of increased toleration of slavery, but was in great part due to the wholesome instincts of self-government which the anti-slavery sentiment at the North seemed likely to threaten. Here, as so often in history, a wholesome sentiment and sound principles became enlisted in behalf of a noxious institution. Let us observe how there grew up between the Northern and Southern systems of labor what William Henry Seward once called an "irrepressible conflict."

One of the economic necessities inherent in our Southern system of slave labor was a progressive acquisition of new territory. The ignorant labor of the slaves was ill adapted either to manufactures or to commerce, and even in the agricultural occupations to which it was restricted its methods were crude and wasteful. Rotation of crops was unknown or extremely infrequent; no aid was sought from scientific methods of fertilization, and consequently the land under the influence of a monotonous succession of crops became completely exhausted. It was a common thing for large areas of land after a few years to be deserted and suffered

to relapse into their primitive condition of wilderness. From end to end of the slave states, the traveler would encounter extensive districts of worn-out soil upon which colonies of mean whites had here and there reared their squalid huts. Too often such places were seed-beds of ruffianism. The westward movement, therefore, which went on at the South took place under very different conditions from the westward movement at the North. It was a movement of sparse populations moving forward to occupy new and fertile areas, while leaving behind a portion occupied in repairing the situation by breeding slaves for those who had moved forward.

Besides these economic reasons, there was a political reason why the slave power should always hunger for fresh territory. In spite of the added weight given it by the representation of three-fifths of its slaves, the South was inferior to the North in the lower House of Congress, and, in spite of every effort, was constantly losing ground. The relative increase of population was greater at the North than at the South. The advantages accruing from immigration and from the application of inventions to industry went for the most part to benefit the North. Such advantages could be obtained only where labor was free; and free labor stayed away from the Southern states because the institution of slavery fixed a stigma upon all manual labor. Then, as always, it was found that slave labor and free labor can no more flourish side by side in the same community than bad currency and good currency; the slave labor drives out the free labor as surely as the bad currency drives out the good. In such kind of rivalries the devil is sure to get the upper hand. This inferiority of strength in the lower House was to some extent compensated by the political alliance which existed between the slave power and certain groups of politicians at the North. This alliance was chiefly with the Northern Democrats, because the South felt itself benefited by their doctrine of strict construction; but the Whig party also, at times, assisted the policy of the slave-holders. We shall presently see how the schism between Northern and Southern Whigs, followed by the rise of the Free-Soilers at the North, tended to make the Democratic party more and more subservient to the South.

In the Senate, as we have seen, an equality between North and South was for a long time maintained by admitting into the Union free states and slave states in couples, so that one might balance the other. After the Missouri Compromise, several years elapsed before the admission of any more states. In 1836 Arkansas was admitted as a slave state, and was balanced in the following year by the admission of Michigan. No

more new states were admitted until the Texas question, presently to be considered, came up. Meanwhile, in spite of their apparent equality in the Senate, the Southerners had an effective majority, just as in the House, through the aid of Northern allies. On all questions which were likely to affect slavery the South acted as a unit, while the North was divided. But even under these circumstances there was a prospect that the North would in course of time acquire a decisive superiority, for on the west the slave states of Louisiana and Arkansas were bounded by the Mexican possessions and the territory which was organized in 1834 as a home for the Indian tribes deported from the country east of the Mississippi. On the other hand, owing to the northwesterly trend of the Rocky Mountains, the North possessed vast room for expansion; and, moreover, should the United States succeed in obtaining complete control of the whole or even of a part of the territory of Oregon, this would mean a still further and formidable acquisition to the future strength of the North. Within that great northwestern area, eleven states have since been formed; but south of the Missouri Compromise line there was in 1840 no room for any further expansion.

It was not strange, therefore, that the Southern leaders should have felt some concern about the continuance of their power and the safety of their peculiar institution. For although, in accordance with the Constitution, nothing could be done to interfere with slavery in states where it had once been established, nevertheless there was a fear that if the Northern people should ever acquire a decisive superiority in power, they might so far override the Constitution as to attack the institution of slavery. No doubt there were but few people at the North who were as yet abolitionists in feeling, and most people deprecated the agitation of the slavery question as irritating and discourteous to a large body of fellow-countrymen; but nevertheless it was not to be denied that the anti-slavery feeling was rapidly growing in strength. In fact, the existence of a society based upon slavery was beginning to shock the moral sense of the civilized world, and the slave power, therefore, was not without grounds for its fears. The emancipation by England of all her slaves in the West Indies must have caused it some ugly qualms; and at nearly the same time the principles of the abolitionists in America began to be set forth in the paper known as *The Liberator*, which William Lloyd Garrison (Fig. 29) began to publish in 1831. A part of the motto printed at its head will serve to show the spirit with which Garrison always continued to conduct his paper, "I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." In season and out of season, Garri-

son insisted that the time had arrived for slavery to be suppressed and that any further temporizing with it was a national crime. For his boldness of utterance, his life was more than once in danger. Even in Boston, which Southerners regarded as the hotbed of anti-slavery sentiment, Garrison was once dragged in the streets by a mob, and his life was saved only by his timely arrest and imprisonment by order of the mayor.



Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

FIG. 29.—William Lloyd Garrison.

Still worse fared Elijah Parish Lovejoy on the banks of the Mississippi River. Lovejoy was not an abolitionist of the Garrison type, but he took a ground resembling that upon which the Republican party was afterward organized. He believed in restricting slavery, in the belief that it would presently become economically unprofitable and thus die a natural death. At all events, he believed in the right of free speech with voice and pen, and insisted that the subject of slavery should be

freely discussed. Consequently he found it impossible to remain in St. Louis, and carried his newspaper to Alton, in Illinois, where he set up his press on a spot overlooking the confluence of the blue and tranquil Mississippi with the brown and turbulent Missouri. Four times his press was destroyed by the mob, but each time he procured a new press and went on boldly publishing his detested opinions. At last, one night in 1837, his office was attacked by an armed mob, and Lovejoy, while defending himself, was shot dead. At the news of this outrage a meeting of citizens was called at Boston in Faneuil Hall. A speaker named Austin, ready to go all lengths in appeasing the slave power,

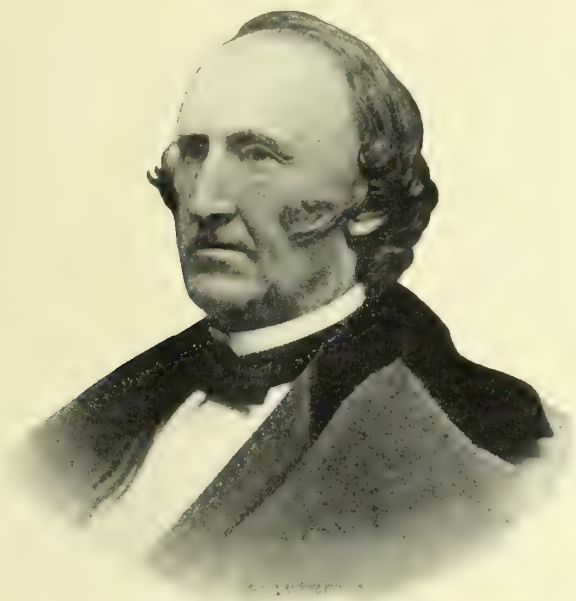


FIG. 30.—Wendell Phillips.

maintained that Lovejoy died as the fool dieth, and went on to compare his murderers to the patriots of 1776. Hereupon a young lawyer of handsome face and imposing dignity of manner arose and began his speech as follows, pointing to the portraits which hung upon the walls: "When I heard the gentleman lay down principles which placed the rioters, incendiaries, and murderers of Alton side by side with Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead. Sir, for the sentiments he has uttered on soil consecrated by the prayers of Puritans and the blood of patriots, the earth should have

yawned and swallowed him up." This was the beginning of the warfare waged against slavery by Wendell Phillips (Fig. 30) so long as slavery endured. In him the blood of Lovejoy found an avenger.

There can be little doubt that the irritation of the Southern people over the discussion of the slavery question had been greatly intensified by a negro insurrection in Virginia, which occurred in the summer of 1831. The principal leader of this insurrection was a slave named Nat Turner, and in the course of it more than sixty white persons were massacred—for the most part, helpless women and children. The horror of this affair convulsed the whole country; and it was believed not only by Southerners, but also by Northern people who disapproved of the abolitionists, that it had been instigated by the latter. It would, of course, be wrong to charge such an outrage upon the abolitionists, as a party; whether some particular abolitionist fanatics might have been connected with it would be difficult to determine, but it is clear that in some minds at the North there was a disposition to condone crimes that seemed to be directed against the hateful institution of slavery—the same kind of disposition which at a later time and amid the passions of civil war led many people to applaud the wretched career of John Brown.

The coincidence of the Turner insurrection with the publication of *The Liberator*, followed by the formation of several anti-slavery societies, caused great alarm at the South; and when abolitionist petitions began to be presented to Congress, it is not strange that this alarm was increased. There was everywhere an underlying feeling that the institution of negro slavery would not bear discussion. This feeling existed among Southerners as well as among Northerners. Very few people at the South between 1830 and 1840 had reached the point of defending slavery on moral grounds; prolonged antagonism was needed to urge them to that extremity; for the present they contented themselves with the claim that slavery, although reprehensible from a high ethical standpoint, was nevertheless an economic necessity of which they could not rid themselves. Any public discussion of the subject, therefore, made them uneasy, and they were unwilling that abolitionist petitions should obtain a hearing in Congress. Many Northern people sympathized in this view. It was difficult, however, to know just what to do with these petitions. The Constitution expressly provides that the right of the people peaceably to petition the government for a redress of grievances shall not be abridged by Congress. How, then, could Congress refuse to receive abolitionist petitions? The contest over this question arose in December, 1831, when

John Quincy Adams, who was then in the House of Representatives, presented fifteen petitions from divers people in Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. For the next three years it was the custom to receive all petitions, hear them read, and refer them to a committee, in whose keeping they passed into oblivion. In 1834 Adams contended that the committee receiving such petitions must report on them, and that the House must vote upon the report. To this it was objected that the adoption of such a rule would put it into the power of a few abolitionists to obstruct all the legislative business of the country by occupying the time of Congress with their petitions. The immediate solution of the difficulty was found in receiving and hearing the petition and laying it upon the table, without referring it. During the discussion men's passions were much inflamed by the introduction of a debate over the question whether Congress had the constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. For session after session the discussion went on with increasing bitterness, while anti-slavery petitions by the thousand were poured in upon Congress, until the Southern members lost all prudence and succeeded in 1840 in securing the adoption of a standing rule that no petition praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia or the prohibition of the domestic slave-trade "shall be received by this House, or entertained in any way whatever." Thus at last the House distinctly placed itself upon ground that was unconstitutional. A similar course of events occurred in the Senate, and along with the warfare against petitions there went sundry attempts to prevent postmasters from allowing abolitionist documents to circulate through the mails. In the course of these proceedings it is worth noting that the Virginian attitude of mind, as represented by Tyler, was wiser than the South Carolinian attitude, as expressed by Calhoun. Tyler deprecated the extreme positions taken by the Southerners, inasmuch as, by associating the abolitionists with the sacred right of free speech, they put a formidable weapon into their hands. There can be no doubt that this was true, or that this controversy did more than anything that had gone before to accomplish just what the Southerners dreaded, namely, to arouse a widespread feeling that the institution of slavery was hostile to the fundamental principles of civil liberty. There is no doubt that in the decade between 1830 and 1840 public opinion at the North made great progress in this direction; and it is significant to find for the first time in 1840 a Presidential candidate nominated expressly upon an anti-slavery platform. Conspicuous in the defence of the right of petition

was the ex-President, John Quincy Adams, whose long service in the House of Representatives was the most picturesque and perhaps the most glorious part of his career. There was something that won the admiration of his Southern antagonists in the unswerving persistency and dauntless courage with which the old man returned again and again to the attack. It was a day of evil augury for the slave power when it called forth against itself that clarion voice. On one occasion during those memorable debates, Adams became prophetic and enunciated the principle upon which Abraham Lincoln afterward acted in his emancipation policy. In 1836 Adams warned his slave-holding friends of the possible consequences of too radical a policy on their part, and he declared that if ever the slave states should become the theatre of war, the government might interfere with slavery in any way that military policy might suggest. Again, in his speech of April 14, 1842, Adams spoke the following remarkable words :

“Whether the war be civil, servile, or foreign, I lay this down as the law of nations : I say that the military authority takes for the time the place of all municipal institutions, slavery among the rest. Under that state of things, so far from its being true that the states where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the President of the United States, but the commander of the army, has power to order the universal emancipation of slaves.” As we shall hereafter see, it was upon this theory that President Lincoln virtually proceeded.

It was during Tyler's administration that vital questions connected with the further westward expansion of the United States came up for settlement. These questions may be grouped under two heads : first, that of Oregon ; secondly, that of Texas.

As for Oregon, the history of its acquisition by the United States is somewhat curious. During the latter part of the eighteenth century, sundry eminent Spanish and British navigators explored our north-western coasts as far as Alaska ; but the first mariner to discover and enter the mighty river of Oregon was Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, in his good ship *Columbia*, from which that river received the name it has ever since borne. That was on May 11, 1792. It was a principle of international usage, more or less recognized since the days when France and Spain began to jostle each other in North America, that the discovery of a river carries with it at least an inchoate title to the whole territory drained by it. But, as a rule, little heed has been paid to such inchoate titles unless they have been reinforced by actual settle-

ment or occupation. In 1792 the western boundary of the United States was the Mississippi River, so that there was not much likelihood of American citizens occupying the valley of the Columbia. But in 1803 the purchase of Louisiana carried forward our national frontier to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, and then President Jefferson sent Captain William Clark and Captain Meriwether Lewis on an overland journey of exploration down the valley of the Columbia, thus somewhat reinforcing any such claim as we might have based upon Gray's discovery. There was also a vague idea that Oregon might be claimed as an appurtenance to the Louisiana territory, on the assumption that Spain in the cession of 1800 virtually turned over to France her old claims to the northwest coast. A better claim was furnished to the United States by the treaty of 1819, whereby we acquired Florida. That treaty contained a clause which surrendered to the United States all her claims upon the northwest coast. Meanwhile, in 1811, the town of Astoria was founded by the New York merchant, John Jacob Astor, an enterprising dealer in furs, who was quick to perceive the value of a trading-station at the mouth of the Columbia, half-way between New York and the fur-markets of China. During the war of 1812 Astoria passed into British hands, and after the treaty of Ghent the British government set up a claim to the country on the ground of an alleged discovery by Lieutenant Broughton, one of Admiral Vancouver's officers. This claim was ill-founded, because Gray entered the river before Broughton, who was guided in his voyage by information received from the former. The discussion, however, reached a temporary adjustment in 1818, when it was agreed that the Oregon territory from latitude 42° to that of $54^{\circ} 40'$ should be held in joint tenancy by the United States and Great Britain. For several years Oregon was practically given up to the hunters and trappers of the great Hudson Bay Company, while occasional expeditions thither were made by Americans, such as Captain Bonneville and Nathaniel Wyeth. In 1836 the American Board of Missions sent to Oregon the Rev. Henry Spalding and Dr. Marcus Whitman, with their wives. To the name of the latter worthy physician, who was murdered by the Indians (Fig. 31), a strange legend has within the last few years become attached, and has acquired sufficient currency to deserve a moment's mention.

According to this legend, the Hudson Bay Company persistently endeavored to prevent emigration from the United States into Oregon; and when in 1842 the Oregon question was coming up between the United States and Great Britain for a permanent settlement, that com-

pany began making arrangements for a wholesale importation of British subjects into the territory. We are told that in the autumn of 1842, while the Ashburton treaty was in progress, Dr. Whitman detected the scheme of the Hudson Bay Company and had good reason for believing that the treaty might surrender the American claims to Oregon. Accordingly he took his horse, and, striking southward for the Sante Fé trail, there turned eastward and proceeded to the city of Washington, a winter journey of 4000 miles amid countless perils, for the purpose of persuading President Tyler and Daniel Webster not to give up that

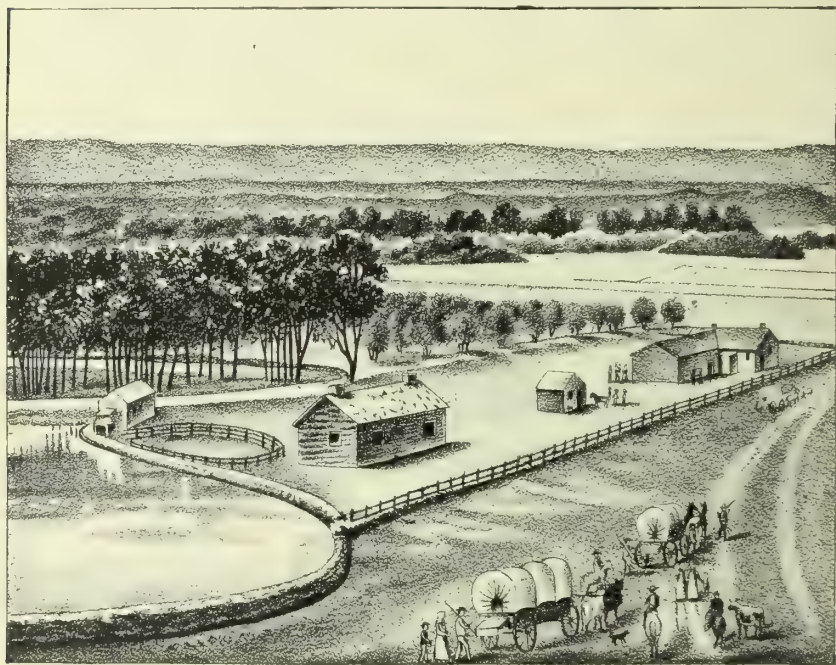


FIG. 31.—Scene of Whitman massacre. (From "Magazine of American History," vol. xii.)

remote but glorious country. We are given to understand that this timely interposition on the part of Dr. Whitman saved Oregon to the United States, and also that an expedition of 200 immigrants which made its way to Oregon in the course of the following summer was organized and commanded by that zealous missionary.

This story has recently been subjected to a minute and exhaustive investigation by Mr. William Marshall, of Chicago, with the following results: The Hudson Bay Company did not pursue a policy hostile to emigration from the United States into Oregon. When Dr. Whitman took his long winter ride, it was not with the primary purpose of per-

suading our government to insist upon keeping Oregon, but the primary purpose was to report to the Board of Missions concerning sundry unseemly dissensions among its ministers in Oregon, which had come near to breaking up the mission. He certainly visited Washington, and that he expatiated upon the wonderful beauty and boundless resources of the Oregon country may be taken as a matter of course; for who ever spent even a week in that paradise without losing his heart to it? It appears, however, that any such representations were quite superfluous, and that neither President Tyler nor his Secretary of State had ever so much as entertained the thought of surrendering Oregon. In this connection it may be observed that the introduction to Nixon's “How Marcus Whitman Saved Oregon” contains a paragraph depreciating Oregon, which purports to be a quotation from one of Daniel Webster's speeches. Assiduous research has failed to discover this paragraph in any of his published speeches, and it is couched in an English style such as Webster could hardly have been guilty of uttering. As for the emigrant party of 1843, it was organized and started on its way not by Dr. Marcus Whitman, but by another medical missionary, Dr. Elijah White.

The truth is, that the increased intercourse with the Oregon country, of which the establishment of the mission was a symptom, coupled with the fact that the title to the country was in some dispute, was enough to stimulate migration thither on the part of our restless and pushing Yankee population; and so rapidly did the movement swell in volume that by the year 1846 the number of settlers in Oregon already exceeded 12,000. Meanwhile the question of title remained undecided, inasmuch as the Ashburton treaty had left it open for adjustment through further special negotiation. Most people were inclined to acquiesce in a decision which would divide the territory. It was understood that Great Britain would like to have all that lay north of the Columbia River; but some hot-blooded Americans were for having the whole territory up to the Alaska boundary, and in this mood they raised the alliterative war-cry, “Fifty-four forty, or fight!”

So far as the great sectional question was concerned, the Southerners could hardly be expected to take a very keen interest in the acquisition of Oregon. It was a Senator from South Carolina who asked the question, What could we ever expect to do with a state whose representatives would consume the whole year in getting to Washington and back? Indeed, when we reflect that in those days an inhabitant of St. Louis in going to Oregon was very likely to choose his route by way of New

York and thence by steamship around Cape Horn, we need not wonder that small interest was felt in a region so remote. One thing, however, was clear: whatever political strength it might contribute to the country would be added only to the North. There was no likelihood that slave states could be formed so far north of the compromise line. On the other hand, the Texas question was one that came to our very doors and loudly demanded a settlement.

After the Louisiana purchase of 1803, there was a controversy between the United States and Spain as to whether the region between



FIG. 32.—General Santa Anna. (From "Magazine of American History," vol. iv.)

the Sabine River and the Rio Grande, commonly known as Texas, formed a part of the Louisiana territory or not. The point was settled in 1819 by the treaty which gave us Florida. The United States then acknowledged that Texas was Spanish territory. A few settlers from the United States had already found homes there, and presently an enterprising settler from Connecticut, named Austin, became the pioneer in quite an extensive immigration. After the successful revolt of Mexico against Spanish rule, a federal government of Mexican states was established in 1827. In this federal system Texas and Coahuila

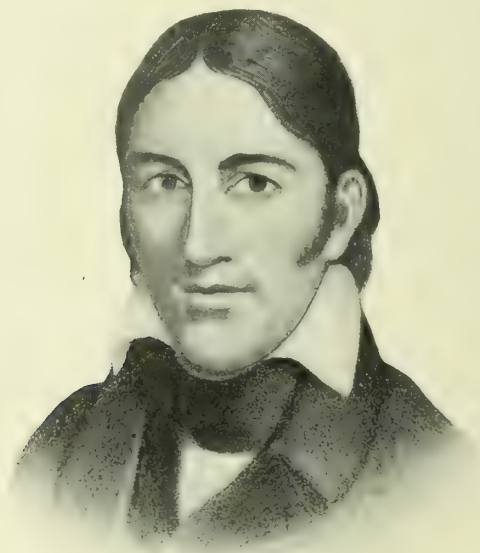
together formed a single state. There were then something like 20,000 American citizens in Texas; but this number was far surpassed by the Mexican population of Coahuila, which looked with strong disfavor upon the incoming of so many English-speaking people. Twice the United States offered to buy Texas; but the Mexican government refused, and in 1830 it prohibited further immigration from the United States. In 1835 Santa Anna, the President of Mexico, by a usurping decree overthrew the federal system and constituted himself virtually dictator over a centralized nation. Texas prepared to resist this outrage upon its self-government, and Santa Anna sent an armed force into the country. The Texans replied by driving out this force and setting up a provisional government which on March 2, 1836, declared their state independent of Mexico, and proceeded to frame for themselves a republican constitution. While these things were going on, Santa Anna (Fig. 32)



FIG. 33.—Siege of Alamo. (From "Magazine of American History," vol. xxix.)

crossed the Rio Grande at the head of 6000 men. Early in April he stormed the Alamo fort (Fig. 33) at San Antonio, and massacred in cold blood its defenders, among whom was the famous pioneer and wit, Davy Crockett (Fig. 34). Shortly afterward he committed another atrocious massacre at Goliad, but he was soon to encounter a leader who was more than his match. Samuel Houston (Fig. 35), a native of Virginia, was a man at once masterful and honorable, generous and brave. In the preceding year the Texans had fortunately appointed him to the chief command of their little army. In April, 1836, with a force not exceeding 1000 men, he retreated before Santa Anna's 6000 until the latter made a technical blunder of which Houston instantly took advantage. In the battle of San Jacinto, April 21, the Mexican President was totally defeated, with the loss of 1600 men. Santa Anna himself was taken prisoner, and the contrast between Spanish barbarity

and American clemency was well illustrated in his treatment. In spite of the indignation over the two recent massacres, he was kindly treated and no attempt was made at retaliation. On May 14 the captive Santa Anna signed a treaty recognizing the independence of Texas. In September, Houston was elected president of that commonwealth, and presently turned Santa Anna over to the United States government, which released him and sent him home. Arriving at the city of Mexico, he met with so chilling a reception that he felt obliged to retire to his private estate.

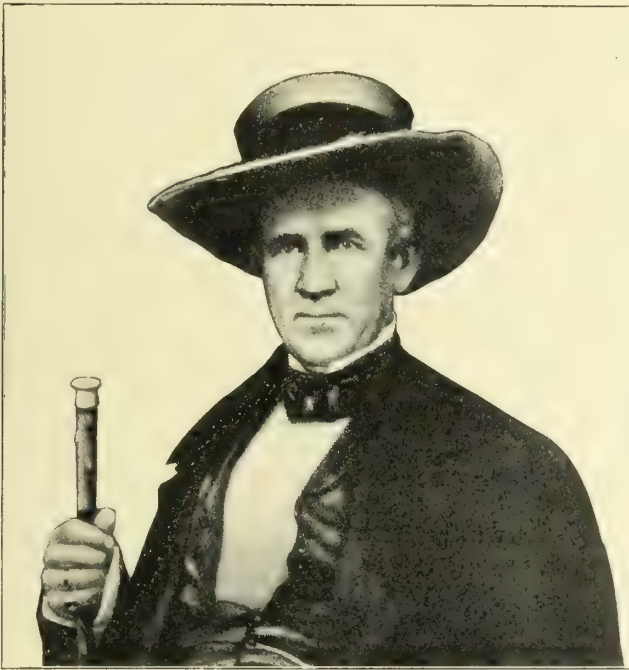


David Crockett
1837

FIG. 34.—David Crockett. From an engraving by Childs and Lehman, after a painting by Osgood. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.

Before the end of May, 1836, the question of recognizing the independence of Texas was taken up in the United States, and early in 1837 the recognition was made. During the debates upon this subject in the Senate, Calhoun declared with entire frankness that he was in favor of such recognition, because it was naturally a prelude to the annexation of Texas, a country big enough to make five or six slave states. On the other hand, Webster made a speech in the city of New York in

which he declared himself opposed to the annexation on the express ground that it would extend the area of slavery. An issue was thus quite sharply and definitely raised. The contest over abolitionist petitions had so inflamed men's minds that so magnificent an acquisition as Texas was generally condemned at the North, because of the reinforcement which it was likely to bring to the slave power. The opposition was strong enough to delay annexation for several years. Meanwhile,



Sam Houston

FIG. 35.—Samuel Houston.

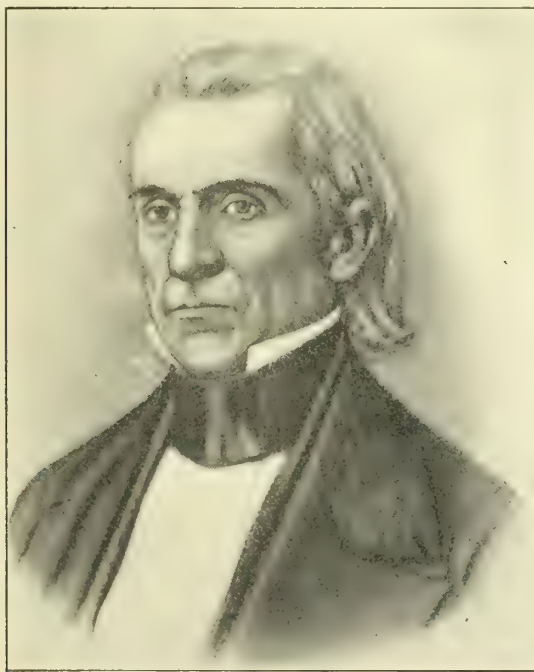
the Texans were eager to be annexed. More than once their commonwealth knocked at the door of the Union, asking to be let in ; but President Van Buren was a consistent opponent of slavery, and under his administration nothing could be hoped for. The same was true under Tyler's administration, so long as Webster remained Secretary of State. His resignation in May, 1843, cleared the way for President Tyler, who

was strongly in favor of annexation. During the next year, while Abel Upshur, of Virginia, was Secretary of State, negotiations were carried on with Texas; and when this came to the ears of Mexico, that power threatened war in case the United States should annex Texas. During these events Upshur was unfortunately killed by the explosion of a gun on the new war-ship *Lexington* in February, 1844. Calhoun succeeded him in the State department, and a treaty of annexation was soon prepared and signed by the President, while a strong fleet was sent to guard the Texas coast. This treaty was rejected by the Senate. Among the various objections to it, that of the Virginia Senator, William Archer, was especially noticeable. He maintained that a foreign state like Texas could not be admitted into the Union by treaty, but only by an act of Congress.

Having reached this stage, the question rested during the summer of 1844, so far as any Congressional action was concerned. In the press, however, and on the stump, in city club-houses and village taverns, the agitation and discussion were fierce. A large party denounced the further expansion of the United States in the interests of slavery as a criminal policy; while on the other hand there were those who declared that a policy of expansion was forced upon us by "manifest destiny," and in this mood they urged not only the immediate annexation of Texas, but that of Oregon up to $54^{\circ} 40'$, and professed themselves ready, if need be, to fight both Mexico and Great Britain at once. In the Democratic convention for nominating a candidate for the Presidency, the proceedings were such as to herald a portentous schism in the Democratic party, although this result was not reached until 1848. The most natural and logical candidate of the party was Van Buren; but because of his opposition to the Texas project, the Southern delegates made up their minds that he must be defeated at all hazards. As it was clear that he would have a majority in the convention, this achievement might seem difficult; but it was accomplished by forcing the adoption of a preliminary rule that a simple majority should not suffice to secure the nomination. A two-thirds vote was made requisite; and this rule, thus made to secure a temporary and very peculiar purpose, has been rather stupidly adhered to by all Democratic conventions from that day to the present. By this rule Van Buren failed to secure the nomination, and James Knox Polk (Fig. 36) of North Carolina, a man of fair abilities, who had been Speaker of the House, was named as candidate. He was an inflexible advocate of annexation. The Whigs now, after an interval of fourteen years, once more brought

forward Clay, who had expressed himself guardedly on the great question, but was generally believed to be opposed to annexation. The Liberty party, undismayed by the feeble showing it had made in 1840, returned to the fight with increased boldness under the same leader, James Birney.

In the early part of the summer, few people doubted that Clay would be elected; but with the progress of the discussion it seemed clear that the annexation policy was gaining ground, and accordingly



James K. Polk

FIG. 36.—James K. Polk.

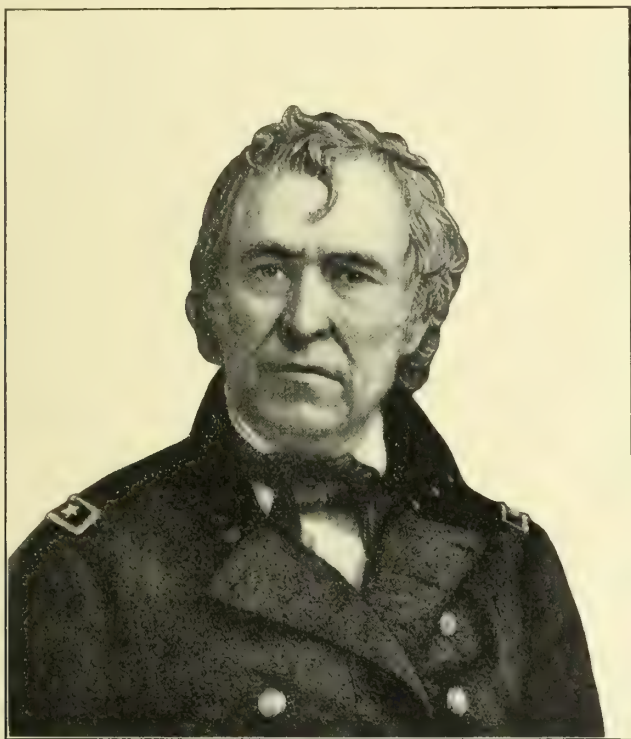
Clay was induced to write what some people would call a “hedging” letter, carefully defining his position. He declared himself opposed to the extension of slavery, and therefore to the immediate annexation of Texas; but he should be willing to see that annexation effected at some other time, and he did not believe that in the long run it would materially help the slave power, since slavery in any case was bound soon to die a natural death. There can be no doubt as to Clay’s genuine disapproval of slavery; whether in his last prediction he was actu-

ated by a true foresight, or merely by the wish which fathers the thought, would be hard to tell. But there can be no doubt that his letter looked like an attempt at riding two horses at once, a kind of exploit in which the rider is apt to fall between the one and the other. Although you never can make certain politicians believe it, American voters do like a man who has the courage of his convictions and strikes out from the shoulder; they do not like a man who tries to persuade them that black is not really black, but a kind of neutral gray. Probably Mr. Clay's letter gained him very few votes from those who favored annexation, for their case was safe in the hands of Polk. On the other hand, its appearance of weakness disgusted many anti-slavery men, who threw away upon Birney the votes which they would otherwise have given to Clay. It happened then, as often since, that the greatest of our states was so evenly balanced that the election would be decided by the transfer of a few hundred votes from one side to the other. It has always been believed that Clay's letter lost him the state of New York; at all events, he lost it. It was one of the most closely contested elections in our history. The result was 170 electoral votes for Polk, 105 for Clay, and none for Birney. The popular vote was 1,337,243 for Polk, 1,299,068 for Clay, and 62,300 for Birney, whose vote was thus nearly eight times as great as in the preceding election. This was the little cloud no bigger than a man's hand which heralded the coming tempest.

Soon after the election a joint resolution for annexing Texas was passed by both Houses of Congress and signed by President Tyler. It prohibited slavery in any states that might be formed from the Texas territory north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and below that parallel left the question to be settled by the people themselves resident there. At the same time a bill passed the House for organizing a territorial government for Oregon up to the Alaska boundary at $54^{\circ} 40'$; but because it prohibited slavery in that territory, it was rejected by the Senate.

It may be well here to state the boundaries of Texas at that time. According to the Texans themselves, their territory extended from the Sabine River to the Rio Grande; but according to the Mexicans, it extended only from the Sabine to the Nueces. It will be observed, therefore, that the long, narrow strip between the Nueces and the Rio Grande was disputed territory. At present the western boundary follows the Rio Grande only as far up as the town of El Paso del Norte, but at that time the Texans regarded it as extending up that river nearly as far as the thirty-eighth parallel, thence due north to the forty-second.

The eastern boundary of Texas, as now adjusted, after reaching the Red River, follows it up to the 100th meridian and runs thence due north to about $36^{\circ} 30'$, thence due west to the 103d meridian, thence south to about 32° , thence due west to the Rio Grande at El Paso del Norte. But at the time of which we are speaking, the Texans ran their line from the Red River northward to the Arkansas, which they followed to the point where the head-waters of that river mingle with those of the



Z. Taylor

FIG. 37.—Zachary Taylor.

South Platte, thence due northward to the forty-second parallel. A glance at the map will thus show us that while the Senate in 1844 was willing to prohibit slavery in the comparatively small territory claimed by Texas north of $36^{\circ} 30'$, it was quite otherwise with the vast and imperial domain of Oregon.

As soon as the news of the joint resolution reached the ears of the

envoy from Mexico, he left Washington, and all diplomatic relations between the two governments ceased. President Polk sent John Slidell, of Louisiana, as a special envoy to the city of Mexico, with a view to the peaceable adjustment of matters; but he was unable to obtain a hearing. Parties in Mexico were divided by the question as to whether war with the United States had better be undertaken or not, and early in 1846 the war party acquired the ascendancy, and its leader, General Paredes y Arrilloga, became President of Mexico.

Now in December, 1845, Texas was formally admitted into the Union, and in the act of admission the Federal government expressly reserved to itself the right of adjusting the boundaries of Texas. Until such adjustment should be made by a treaty with Mexico, President

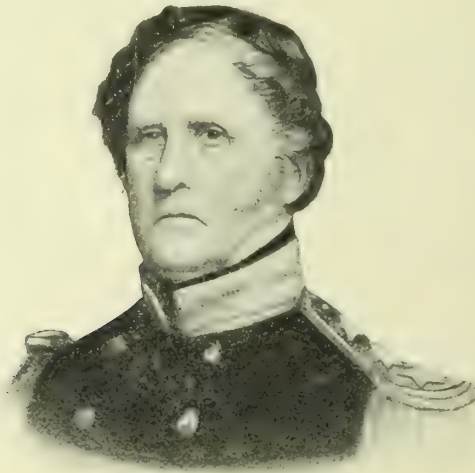


FIG. 38. Winfield Scott. (From an engraving by Welch, after a daguerreotype by McClees. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

Polk felt bound to defend the limits which Texas had claimed for herself since her successful revolution in 1836. In discharging this obligation he not only stationed a small army under Zachary Taylor (Fig. 37) on the farther side of the river Nueces, but set up a custom-house at Corpus Christi, a town in the debatable region. The Mexicans, in anticipation of such moves, had for some time been massing troops at Matamoras, on the south side of the Rio Grande. Accordingly, on January 13, 1846, having heard of the failure of Slidell's mission, President Polk ordered Taylor to march to the Rio Grande. Taylor reached that point March 28, with 2000 men. A message from the Mexican army warned him to retrace his steps and retire to the northeastern bank of the

Nueces. As he made no reply, he was informed after a few days that a state of war existed. On May 8 and 9, Taylor encountered General Arista with 6000 men at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, and, in spite of his inferiority in force, defeated and nearly annihilated the Mexican army. On May 11 and 12, before this news had reached Washington, Congress authorized the President to call out 50,000 volunteers, and an appropriation of \$10,000,000 was made for war expenses. This bill was passed by very large majorities in both Houses.



FIG. 39.—Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, President of Mexico. (From an engraving by Richardson, after a painting by L'Ouvrier. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

Operations forthwith went on briskly. It was not long before General Kearny had taken possession of New Mexico, while the fleet under Commodore Stockton practically secured for us Upper California. Taylor captured the town of Monterey near the Rio Grande, and Colonel Doniphan, after a terrible march of nearly 300 miles through a most difficult country, defeated a force of Mexicans four times as great

as his own, at the pass of the Sacramento, and captured the city of Chihuahua. In its details this march of Doniphan's is perhaps as romantic as anything in ancient Greek history.

It was hoped that these blows might bring Mexico to terms ; but as they did not, a new expedition under General Scott (Fig. 38) was sent across the Gulf to Vera Cruz, from which point it was to march upon the city of Mexico. While the expedition was on its way, Taylor had advanced some distance southwestward from Monterey at the head of 5000 men. The new President of Mexico, Santa Anna (Fig. 39), who had returned from exile, made a rapid advance against Taylor with 20,000 men, hoping finally to dispose of him and then return to withstand Scott.



FIG. 40.—Battle of Buena Vista. (From a colored lithograph by Bayot, after a painting by C. Nabel. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

On February 23, 1847, Santa Anna encountered Taylor at Buena Vista and was totally defeated, with a loss of more than 2000 men (Fig. 40). A fortnight later Scott landed near Vera Cruz, took the city at the end of three weeks, and on April 18 routed Santa Anna with heavy loss at the defile of Cerro Gordo. In August, Scott advanced against the Mexican capital, and, after defeating Santa Anna in three bloody battles, had that city at his mercy. An armistice ensued, and terms of peace were considered.

The question as to the extortion of territory from Mexico had been under consideration in Congress for a whole year. It was apparent to most persons that Mexico would be called upon to surrender Upper California and New Mexico. Scarcely had the discussion begun when

it called forth the ever-memorable Wilmot Proviso. This was an amendment providing that slavery should never be allowed in any territory that was to be acquired from Mexico. The mover of this amendment was David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, who was a Democrat and an enthusiastic advocate of the annexation of Texas and of south-westerly expansion in general. The celebrated action taken by this gentleman is a sufficient answer to the seductive but untenable opinion which underlies that famous poem, "The Biglow Papers." This witty production must undoubtedly be ranked among the greatest political poems of modern times, and its moral standpoint is one with which all must sympathize. But its implication that all persons who favored



FIG. 41.—General Scott's entrance into the city of Mexico. (From a colored lithograph by Bayot, after a painting by C. Nabel. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

the Mexican war must be actuated solely by an interest in slavery, or else by servile truckling to the slave power, is certainly a fallacy. With all its great literary merits, the politics of "The Biglow Papers" are too narrowly abolitionist and sectional. As for the Wilmot Proviso, it passed the House with very little opposition, but it was lost in the Senate. Six months later the sturdy Wilmot again brought up his proviso, and again it passed the House and was defeated in the Senate. Finally a bill without the proviso passed both Houses, authorizing the President to demand New Mexico and Upper California as the price of peace. Other minor matters were included in the proposals of the United States, which the Mexicans, with high spirit after so many defeats, utterly declined to entertain.

The discussion in Congress had gone on so long that these conclusions were reached just after the granting of the armistice. Upon their refusal, early in September, 1847, Scott advanced, inflicted a bloody defeat upon Santa Anna at Molino del Rey, and then captured the city of Mexico (Fig. 41). The reports of further discussions in Congress convinced the Mexican leaders that, if they should prolong the war, the United States might insist upon an extensive dismemberment of their country. Accordingly their resolution gave way, and on February 2, 1848, the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed. This treaty established the Rio Grande boundary and agreed to the cession of New Mexico and Upper California to the United States, in return for which the latter power was to pay \$15,000,000 and assume all the debts of Mexico heretofore incurred to citizens of the United States. This treaty was ratified on March 16, 1848.

Meanwhile the negotiations with Great Britain over the Oregon question had been brought to a satisfactory conclusion in a compromise between the American claim for $54^{\circ} 40'$ and the British claim to the right bank of the Columbia River. The British government offered to continue to the Pacific coast the forty-ninth parallel, which was already the dividing line between the United States and the British possessions. This offer was accepted by the United States in a treaty confirmed in June, 1846.

Thus between the Presidential elections of 1844 and 1848 the United States had come into possession of considerably more than 1,000,000 square miles of new territory, a region roughly equivalent to the whole of Europe west of Russia. The question as to what was to be done about slavery in settling this imperial domain at once came up for answer, and its discussion occupied the public mind to the exclusion of all other subjects. During the discussion came the Presidential campaign of 1848. Early in the summer the Democratic party nominated Lewis Cass, who had been governor of Michigan, and renewed the strict-constructionist platform of 1840 and 1844. A resolution that Congress had no constitutional right to interfere with slavery was voted down by a large majority. The Whig convention, which was held a few days later, refused to adopt a resolution sustaining the Wilmot Proviso, and was afraid to put forth any platform at all. It contented itself with nominating Zachary Taylor, of Louisiana, one of the two military heroes of the day. These proceedings showed that the Democrats were not ready to proclaim themselves a pro-slavery party, nor were the Whigs ready to be known as an anti-slavery party. The first decided movement, however, against slavery extension came from the Democrats.

Ever since 1835 there had been a division growing up among the Democrats of New York state. A wing of the Democratic party, somewhat radical in its tendencies, at first attacked sundry monopolies and instances of government favoritism in the chartering of banks, and at a later date became opposed to the extension of slavery. This party was at first known as the "Equal Rights Men," and presently as "Loco-focos," after a newly invented kind of friction match. At a certain meeting in the city of New York their opponents, the Tammany men, tried to break up the meeting by turning off the gas, but certain persons who had loco-foco matches in their pockets soon relighted the chandeliers and the proceedings went on. After half a dozen years another nickname was applied to these people, from the story of a radical Dutchman who burned down his house in order to drive out the rats. Thus our radical friends came to be known as "Barn-Burners," while their opponents were generally called "Hunkers." The leader of the Barn-Burners was ex-President Van Buren. We have seen how his opponents defeated his nomination in 1844. In the next campaign the Barn-Burners attended the regular Democratic convention, hoping to commit it to a condemnation of the extension of slavery into the territories. The convention, however, admitted both Hunkers and Barn-Burners and divided the vote of New York equally between them. Dissatisfied with this treatment, the Barn-Burners withdrew, and, in combination with the Liberty party, held a convention on August 9 at Buffalo. This newly compounded party received the name "Free-Soilers." They started with the grand principle that Congress had no more right to make a slave than to make a king, and they declared against the further extension of slavery, whether by adding new territories or new states to the Union. On this platform they nominated Martin Van Buren, of New York, and joined with him Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts. In the election Taylor received 163 electoral votes, Cass received 127, and Van Buren none. The figures of the popular vote were: for Taylor, 1,360,101; for Cass, 1,220,544; for Van Buren, 291,263. Thus it is interesting to observe that Birney's 7000 of only eight years before had swelled into Van Buren's 291,000. The little cloud in the horizon was growing.

The addition of Texas and Florida, which had been admitted to the Union in 1845, had been counterbalanced by that of Iowa in 1846 and Wisconsin in 1848. So far the balance between the sections in the Senate had been preserved; but in the House of Representatives the votes of the last few years had generally shown that the anti-slavery

feeling was acquiring a predominance. In the last contest between the two in 1848, a bill had been passed organizing the entire Oregon country from the Pacific coast to the crest of the Rocky Mountains as a territory, with slavery forever prohibited. The Senate had made an attempt to attach to this bill a rider extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific coast, hoping thus to save for slavery the immense region south of that line; but to the refusal of the House to accept this rider the Senate had yielded.

This concession, however, was far from indicating any diminution of belligerency on the part of the slave-holders. Already a doctrine had been heard in Congress from which the slave power expected valuable assistance. This was the doctrine presently known as "squatter sovereignty." Why not let the inhabitants of any territory decide for themselves whether they would have slavery or not? This doctrine had a plausible sound; it appealed to the instinct of self-government, and it harmonized with Calhoun's doctrine that Congress had no power over slavery even in the territories. Nevertheless, the time was not yet quite ripe for it. For the moment, the slave-holders built greater hopes upon New Mexico and California. In December, 1848, the House passed a bill for organizing those territories with the Wilmot Proviso, but the Senate rejected this bill. Great indignation was then aroused among Southerners by a resolution which passed the House, to the effect that the sale of slaves in the city of Washington made the name of our country a name of scandal and reproach throughout the civilized world. Toward the end of the session, when the House sent up an appropriation bill for the expenses of the current year, the Senate attached to it a rider providing for the admission of New Mexico and California with the permission of slavery. It was believed that the House would not dare to reject this rider, inasmuch as Congress expired at midnight of March 3, and its expiration without the passage of the appropriation bill would leave the government penniless. But the House had men in it too acute to be disposed of in this way. Instead of rejecting the rider, they offered a substitute, providing that until the Fourth of July, 1850, the Mexican law as to slavery should remain in force in those territories. Now, the Mexican law prohibited negro slavery, and thus the responsibility of rejecting the bill was thrown back upon the Senate. The latter body had thus no alternative but to drop its own rider along with the substitute and pass the bill in its original form.

An event which now occurred was soon to show that the stars in

their courses were fighting against Sisera. All over the country flew the news that gold had been discovered in California, and people began rushing thither from all points of the compass with such rapidity that within six months the population of California justified her admission into the Union as a state. As might have been expected, there were few, if any, slave-holders or slaves in this mighty stream of immigration (Fig. 42). A convention was held November 13, 1849, in which these Californians adopted a constitution expressly forbidding slavery, and thereupon sent delegates to Washington, begging for admission into the Union. Here was squatter sovereignty with a vengeance, and not at



FIG. 42.—Sacramento in 1850. (From "Magazine of American History," vol. xii.)

all of the sort that the slave power wanted. The admission of California under these conditions would not merely disturb the balance in the Senate, but it would introduce a free state extending far south of the compromise line. This was the signal for the most embittered debates in Congress and in the newspapers that had yet been witnessed, and on the Southern side loud threats of secession were heard. At this moment the Southerners complained that President Taylor turned against his own section, and indeed there is no doubt that he was a broad-minded man who looked at things chiefly from the standpoint of the general good. In his first message to Congress he advocated the immediate admission of California as a state without the usual preliminary

period of territorial organization. Other questions came up which were connected with the California case, and early in 1850 Henry Clay, who so long ago had won fame by the Missouri Compromise and again by the compromise tariff, now came forward with a grand series of measures intended to heal all difficulties in one great, all-embracing compromise. These measures were by him included in a single bill, which was generally called the "Omnibus Bill." Its six chief points were as follows: 1, The admission of California as a free state; 2, the organi-

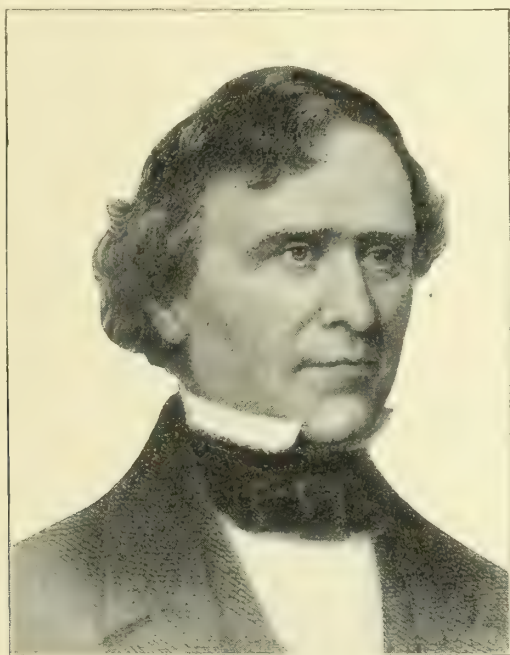


Millard Fillmore

FIG. 13.—President Millard Fillmore. (From an engraving by J. C. Buttre.)

zation of New Mexico, including the region since known as Utah, into the territories of New Mexico and Utah without the Wilmot Proviso; 3, the reduction of Texas to the boundaries within which that state is now contained, on the payment of a money indemnity by the United States; 4, the future division, if deemed necessary, of Texas into four or more slave states, with the consent of the inhabitants; 5, the abolition of the slave-trade in the District of Columbia; 6, a law providing more rigorously than heretofore for the capture and return of fugitive slaves. In the course of debate these measures were divided

into separate bills, but one and all were carried through both Houses, and Clay was for the moment generally regarded as the saviour of his country. It was on the 7th of March that Webster made his last great speech in the Senate, in which he accepted and defended these measures of compromise. Before the end of that month the venerable Calhoun had passed away, and before two years had passed Clay and Webster were also in their graves. The long careers of those three great men had been run, and it was left to a younger generation to witness the next stage in the mighty conflict.



Frank Pierce

FIG. 44.—President Franklin Pierce.

In July, 1850, President Taylor died and was succeeded by the Vice-President, Millard Fillmore (Fig. 43). During the next two years there was a lull in the storm. The Democratic national convention of 1852 pledged the party to a strict observance of the compromise of 1850, and nominated Franklin Pierce (Fig. 44), of New Hampshire, for President. The Whig national convention, a fortnight later, made a similar pledge. At first it seemed as if Fillmore was to be the nominee, and the friends

of Daniel Webster also urged his name ; but the choice fell upon Winfield Scott, the surviving military hero of the Mexican war. The death of Webster, which occurred soon afterward, was attributed by many people to chagrin, but required no explanation. For his speech of March 7, 1850, Webster was accused by the abolitionists of being a renegade and apostate to the cause of freedom. This was a natural charge for the abolitionists to make. Their feelings on the occasion did credit to their hearts, if not to their sober judgment. Nobody to-day, however, finds fault with Abraham Lincoln for declaring in 1862 that his duty was to save the Union, whether with slavery or without it ; and that was precisely the ground upon which Webster stood in his last great speech. Then, as always, Webster, like Lincoln after him, subordinated every other consideration to that of saving the Union. It was felt by him, as by many people in 1850, that the compromise measures had finally settled the slavery question. It was said that every acre of the United States was then covered by compromises ; and men like Webster understood that to the West and South beyond the Rio Grande the physical conditions of the country were such that slavery could never take root there. Thus the extension of slave territory was already checked by the laws of nature, and that object was already virtually secured which David Wilmot had sought to secure with his proviso. Thus hemmed in, the slave power would presently find that its peculiar institution was ceasing to be profitable, and therefore it would die a natural death.

Very likely these anticipations might have been realized by the course of events, had not the slave power, half conscious of its antagonism to the spirit of the age, and anxious for its immediate future, become more aggressive than before, and put forth demands which soon united the North in antagonism to it. Already the fugitive-slave law had emphatically marked the assumption of such an aggressive attitude. Events were soon to show that the slave-holders would far better have acquiesced in the escape of every negro that could get away from their soil, and charge all such incidents to the account of profit and loss, rather than bring about their heads such a fury of moral condemnation as was aroused by this black and damnable act on our national statute-book. In various Northern cities mass-meetings were held, at which the law was assailed with wholesale denunciation and aid was pledged to black men in evading or resisting its execution. A regular system was soon devised for spiriting away fugitive slaves from the borders of Maryland or Kentucky to Canada. Negroes were concealed under the

shelter of friendly houses and barns, and were passed along from one to another of a chain of confederated well-wishers, until Victoria's dominions were reached. This method of conveyance was commonly known as the "underground railroad," and some of the most highly respectable, cultivated, and wealthy people of the North were concerned in operating it. At this juncture it is interesting to note that while some of the greatest of American lawyers, like Benjamin Curtis and Rufus Choate, were eloquent in counselling the people to obey the laws of the land, at the same time some of the greatest of our clergymen, such as Beecher (Fig. 45) and Furness, Cheever and Theodore Parker (Fig. 46), boldly declared that the obnoxious statute was in contravention of the laws of God and should



FIG. 45.—Henry Ward Beecher. (From a photograph by Sarony, N. Y.)

be resisted, by force if necessary. In 1851, when a Georgia negro named Thomas Sims was claimed in Boston by his master, some of the most eminent lawyers in the commonwealth volunteered their services in his defence; and after he had been delivered over to slavery and taken from the port on a ship bound for Savannah, there were scenes in Boston such as had not been witnessed since 1775. The language of the mild and saintly Channing almost smacked of rebellion, and there were many who felt a thrill of sympathy with Garrison's denunciation of the Constitution as a "covenant with death and league with hell." Three years later, when the negro Anthony Burns was arrested in Boston by the United States marshal and confined in the court-house, an unsuccessful

attempt to rescue him was made by a mob, in which some of the foremost citizens were concerned, and in which Thomas Wentworth Higginson, a young minister from Worcester, was the most conspicuous leader. In this affair several persons were wounded and one of the deputy marshals was killed. Frederick Douglass (Fig. 47), born a slave, founded an anti-slavery paper in Rochester in 1847.

But the most disastrous retaliation which the slave power brought upon itself by its fugitive-slave law was the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" by Harriet Beecher Stowe (Fig. 48), sister of Henry Ward

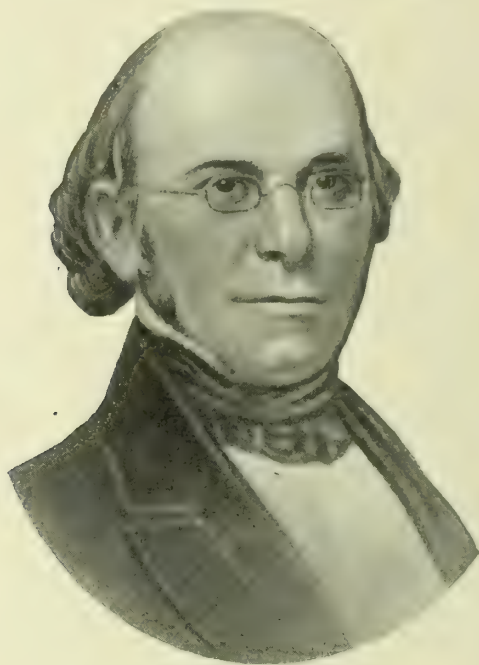


FIG. 46.—Theodore Parker.

Beecher. This remarkable book consisted mainly of sundry incidents which had become known to Mrs. Stowe through her own personal experience. It seemed to her that the time had come when such facts ought to be simply and truthfully told and generally made known; and with this end in view, she wrote the story, little dreaming of the extraordinary career that was before it. Considering the period of fierce excitement at which it was written, its fairness of view is little short of wonderful. There is no attempt to blame Southerners for the existence of slavery; tender sympathy is shown for the Kentucky family which is driven by stress of straitened means to sell some of its most valued slaves to an unknown

fate in the cotton states; and the kindly type of master is shown in St. Clair, as well as the brutal master in Legree, a type which unquestionably existed, though, it is to be hoped, in small numbers. Everywhere the book shows a gentle and Christian spirit, and if the shady side of slavery is too strongly dwelt upon, as some Southern critics claim, the exaggeration is clearly undesigned. The effect of this book

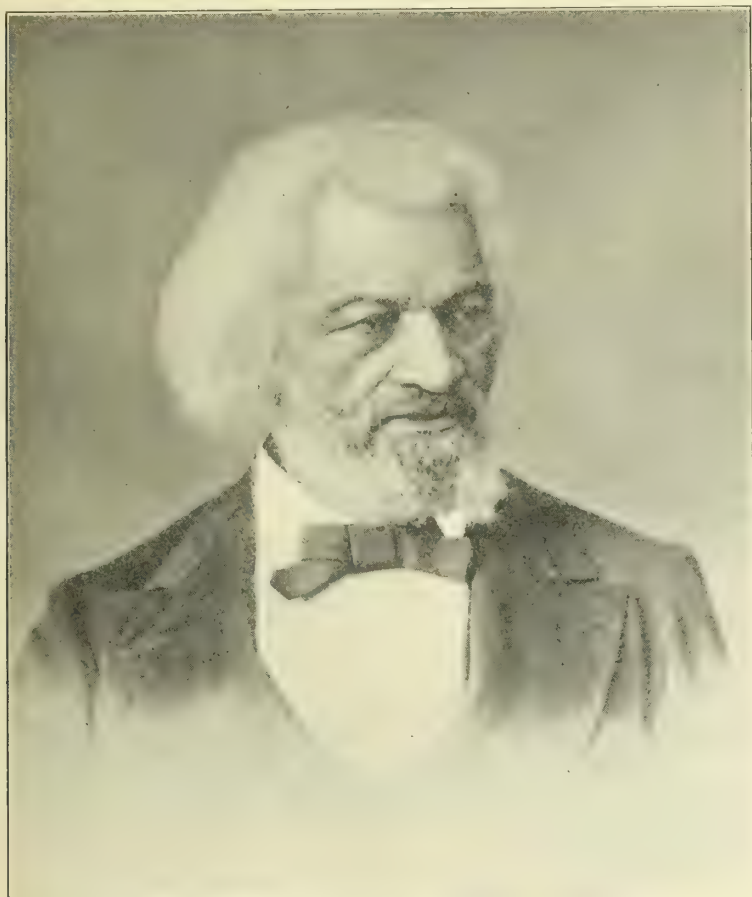


FIG. 47.—Frederick Douglass.

was magical; not only in America, but throughout the world, it gave to people a concrete picture of the institution about which they had been arguing in general or abstract terms. The character of its theme, dealing with life among the lowly, carried it home to every one's heart. It was not long before a million copies had been sold, and it was translated into a greater number of languages than perhaps any other book except the

Bible. Nor was this popularity ephemeral. A cheap edition published in Boston about ten years ago sold for a time at the rate of 10,000 copies a week.

In spite of the occasional excitement over the execution of the fugitive-slave law, it may be said that at no time since 1820 had there



FIG. 48.—Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe.

been so general a feeling of hope that the agitation over slavery was at an end. President Fillmore, in his annual message of December, 1852, did not even allude to the subject. In the election of that autumn, the Democratic candidate, Franklin Pierce, was elected by a

greater majority than had been given to any President since the time of James Monroe. For the Whig party this overwhelming defeat was final, a natural retribution for its timid and ambiguous attitude. The time was at hand when the bolder spirits were to desert it in a body.

As for the Free-Soil Democrats, who had absorbed a great part of Birney's old Liberty party and had nominated Van Buren in 1848, they now put forward as their candidate John Parker Hale (Fig. 49), of New Hampshire, and in their platform declared "that, to the persevering and importunate demand of the slave power for more slave states, new slave territories, and the nationalization of slavery, our distinct and final answer is: No more slave states, no slave territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves." The



FIG. 49.—John P. Hale. (From an unlettered engraving in the collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

platform also declared that Congress had "no more power to make a slave than to make a king"; it denounced the compromise measures of 1850, and in particular demanded the immediate repeal of the fugitive-slave law. It further added that this "Free Democratic party is not organized to aid either the Whig or the Democratic wing of the great slave-compromise party of the nation, but to defeat them both; . . . that we inscribe on our banner, 'Free soil, free speech, free labor, and free men!' and under it will fight on and fight ever until a triumphant victory shall reward our exertions." The party which adopted this spirited platform obtained about 155,000 votes, scarcely more than half as many as Van Buren had obtained four years before, and there were

scoffers who wagged their heads; but the end was not yet. A new contest which was to be settled only by a great civil war was suddenly brought on by the question of providing a government for Nebraska, the territory lying west of Missouri and Iowa and extending to the Rocky Mountains. The line since followed by the Union Pacific Railroad was one of the favorite routes of overland travel to the new state of California, and it became desirable to provide for it a territorial government. In this work Stephen Arnold Douglas (Fig. 50), one of the Senators from Illinois, was especially active. As chairman of the Senate Com-



FIG. 50. Stephen A. Douglas. (From an engraving by Walter, after a photograph by Brady. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

mittee on Territories, Mr. Douglas brought in a bill, early in 1854, providing a territorial government for Nebraska. This bill stated the principle "that all questions pertaining to slavery in the territory, and in the new states to be formed therefrom, are to be left to the decision of the people residing therein, by their appropriate representatives, to be chosen by them for that purpose." Here was a distinct assertion of the principle known as "squatter sovereignty": let the squatter upon the land make his laws for himself. There was an attractive sound to

this doctrine ; it harmonized with American notions of self-government, especially as entertained by the sturdy settlers of the West. Strangely enough, this doctrine was announced as if it were a logical implication of the compromise measures of 1850. In point of fact, those measures had tried to steer clear of any explicit assertion with regard to slavery in the territories ; but there were people who felt that the admission of California as a free state below the Missouri Compromise line logically rendered nugatory that part of the Missouri Compromise which prohibited slavery in territories to the north of it. Under the influence of this feeling, Senator Dixon, of Kentucky, brought in an amendment proposing the repeal of that part of the Missouri Compromise which contained such prohibition. This was the occasion of a debate which renewed the agitation over slavery with as much fierceness as had been shown four years before. The result was the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the substitution of squatter sovereignty in its stead. The disputed region was to be organized in two territories, called respectively Kansas and Nebraska, and it should be left for the settlers in those territories to determine for themselves whether, in the states to be formed there, slavery should be permitted or not. Never did any measure passed in Congress so completely disappoint the expectations of its authors. There is little doubt that Douglas and his friends supposed this to be a pacific method of settling the vexed question ; in point of fact, it led directly and inevitably to civil war.

During the winter and spring, while the discussion was going on, the feeling against the Kansas-Nebraska bill grew rapidly in strength and bitterness at the North. In the course of the summer the Northern men, without distinction of party, who were opposed to the further extension of slavery, united together under the name of Anti-Nebraska men. They took their stand upon the principle of the Wilmot Proviso and of the Free-Soilers of 1852—the principle that there should be no further toleration of slavery in the territories. And now it might be seen how rash must have been any conclusions too hastily drawn from the small vote for Hale in 1852 ; for in the autumn elections of 1854 this new-born party of Anti-Nebraska men elected a majority of the House of Representatives.

The immediate result of the doctrine of squatter sovereignty was the struggle for the possession of Kansas. While the debate was going on, it occurred to Eli Thayer, a citizen of Worcester in Massachusetts, that squatter sovereignty might become a powerful engine in the hands of the opponents of slavery. Why not organize an Emigrant Aid Society

and pour settlers into Kansas from the free states and from Europe in such numbers as to outnumber and outvote any settlers that the slave power should find it possible to send in? Possibly at some future date the same method might be applied to slave states. By offering sufficient inducements, perhaps enough settlers might go there to outvote the old inhabitants and decree the abolition of slavery. Probably in the old slave states this would have been impossible, for free labor could hardly exist side by side with slave labor in the same soil. But with a new country like Kansas, the Thayer scheme was eminently practicable. The scheme was taken up by some of the ablest men in New England; emigrants were organized in companies and transported at low rates, while abundance of capital was furnished them for the speedy building of houses, shops, hotels, and churches, so that as soon as possible a number of desirable towns might be established, which would prove able to attract still further emigration.

The slave power was ill-fitted for coping with such organized emigration from the Northern states. Capital is timid, and the planter was inclined to hesitate about moving into a country where the status of slavery was uncertain. The northern immigrant, on the other hand, was in no way thus encumbered. In order to make up for the relative weakness of the pro-slavery party in the new territory, gangs of men were sent across the border from Missouri at election-time in order to influence the result. The first instance of this was in November, 1854. The parties in Kansas were then pretty evenly balanced, but the pro-slavery men were able to elect their candidate for Congress without help from outside. But the pro-slavery people in Missouri, being anxious about the result, sent about 2000 of their number across the border, and these people cast their illegal votes in Kansas. This incident caused great excitement. A census taken the following spring showed that there were about 9000 settlers in Kansas, of whom 3000 were legal voters. About four-sevenths of these voters had come from the Southern states, but may not all have been pro-slavery men. These figures show how evenly the parties were divided. In that spring of 1855 the election for a territorial legislature was carried by a wholesale invasion of illegal voters from Missouri. In July this pro-slavery legislature assembled at Pawnee and framed a state constitution which was, in the main, a copy of that of Missouri. All through that summer the plains of Kansas were made hideous by the strife between Northern and Southern settlers. Gangs of desperadoes, known as "border ruffians," went about murdering free-state settlers and burning their houses. The

free-state settlers did not submit tamely to these outrages, and something like a civil war was brought on. Throughout the North went up the cry for help to "bleeding Kansas." In these struggles the free-state party gradually acquired the upper hand, inasmuch as it consisted of settlers who were founding homes, and not of mere adventurers. The territory was not long in becoming divided into a pro-slavery district, with Leavenworth for its chief town, and a free-state district, of which the principal settlements were at Lawrence and Topeka. In the autumn of 1855 a convention at Topeka repudiated the Pawnee legislature as illegally elected, and ordered a new election for a delegate to Congress. There were thus two rival governments in Kansas. In January, 1856, President Pierce sent a special message to Congress, in which he endorsed the pro-slavery legislature of Kansas and called the action of the Topeka men an act of rebellion. He followed up this message by sending United States troops into Kansas to support the pro-slavery cause. In July, when the free-state legislature assembled at Topeka, it was dispersed by these Federal troops. A bloody struggle was kept up for several months, in the course of which the free-state towns of Lawrence and Ossawatimie were sacked. It was in the course of this summer that the figure of John Brown first attracted general attention. This man was a native of Connecticut, a fanatic of a type that has been only too common in all ages: a type that never shrinks at murder or any other crime that seems necessary for carrying out its views of what is best for society. In May, 1856, Brown and his followers, at a place called Pottawatomie, took five pro-slavery men from their homes and murdered them in cold blood. None of Brown's apologists has succeeded in finding any sound excuse for this atrocity.

It seemed as if the demon of barbarism which had been let loose on the frontier was at the same time wreaking his evil will in the halls of Congress. In that same month of May, Charles Sumner, Senator from Massachusetts, delivered a memorable speech on affairs in Kansas. It was not a time when men were apt to be gentle in their political debates, but Sumner's speech was more than usually offensive. It used language which to us who read it to-day is disgusting, and it went beyond all bounds of propriety in its abuse of Andrew Pickens Butler (Fig. 51), Senator from South Carolina. Public opinion in Washington was loud in its condemnation of Sumner; and under the influence of this wave of feeling, a member of the House of Representatives named Preston Brooks, a relative of Butler's, undertook to exact satisfaction from the Massachusetts Senator. It was done in a mean and cowardly way. Sumner was a man

of colossal stature and strength, while Brooks was small and weak. After the close of a session of the Senate, while Sumner was bent over his desk engaged in writing, Brooks came up to him, and, after two or three preliminary words, began beating him over the head with a stout, lithe cane. The Senator's desk and chair were screwed to the floor, and his position was so confined that in order to defend himself he rose and wrenched the desk loose from its fastenings; but by this time his puny assailant had dealt so many blows that Sumner fell unconscious to the floor. Several

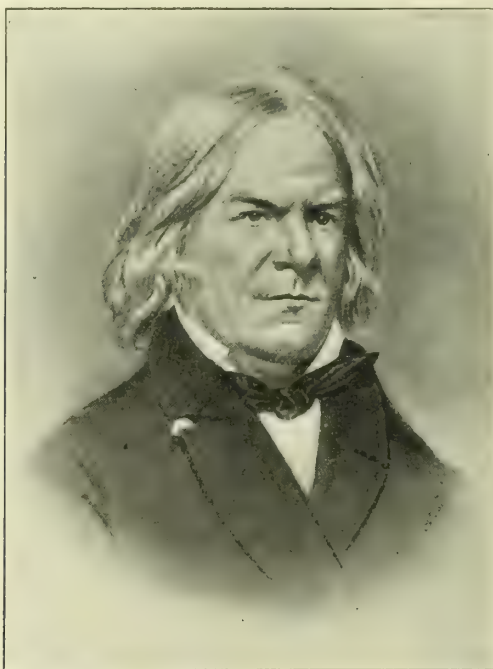
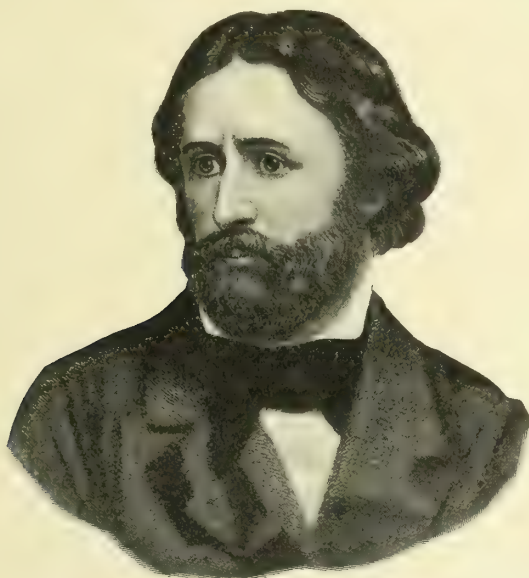


FIG. 51.—Andrew Pickens Butler. (From an engraving by A. B. Walter. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

other members lingering about the doorways looked on without interfering. Sumner's injuries were such that he was under medical treatment for nearly four years, while his seat in the Senate remained empty. A motion in the House of Representatives to expel Brooks failed of the requisite two-thirds majority. In July he resigned his seat and returned to South Carolina, where his district greeted him as if he were a victorious general, and re-elected him to Congress with only six dissenting votes. In general, the Southern newspapers applauded Brooks, and even to-day one sometimes hears a few lame words of apology in his behalf. It is well, however, to admit the fact that such men as Preston

Brooks and John Brown are not a credit to any community which may have produced them, whatever may be its latitude and longitude.

The Anti-Nebraska men had now taken up and applied to themselves the name Republicans, which is said to have been suggested by William Henry Seward, of New York, late in 1855. It seems to have been a reminiscence of the old phrase, National Republicans, of thirty years before. The Republicans at their first national convention in June, 1856, adopted a loose-constructionist platform, inheriting from the Whigs the policy of internal improvements and protective tariffs. These principles

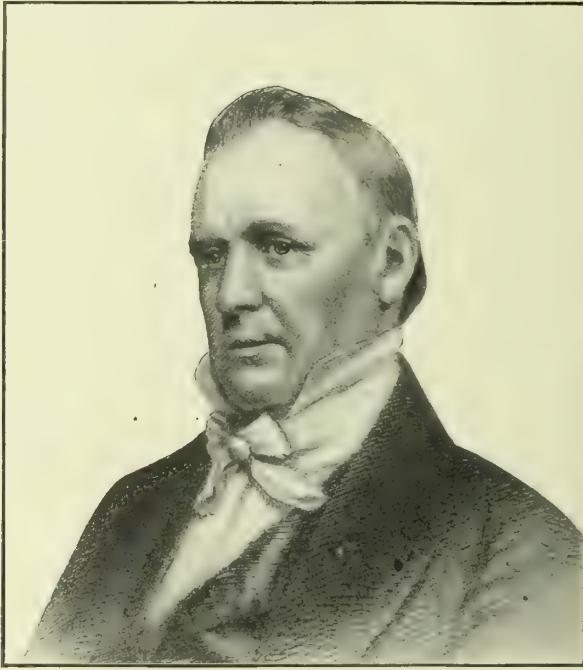


J. C. Frémont.

FIG. 52.—John C. Frémont.

occupied, however, but a subordinate position, especially as the party contained a very large number of anti-slavery Democrats. The policy of high tariffs had fallen into general disfavor except in Pennsylvania, inasmuch that in 1857 a new tariff was adopted, lower than any other since the beginning of the century, and approaching within a measurable distance of the English policy of free trade. The principle upon which the Republican party was based was that of opposition to the introduction of slavery into the territories. For their Presidential candidate the Republicans nominated John Charles Frémont (Fig. 52), of California,

who had won some fame as an explorer of the Rocky Mountains. In the Democratic platform the chief feature was its approval of squatter sovereignty. Its candidate was James Buchanan (Fig. 53), of Pennsylvania, who had been Secretary of State under President Polk, and minister to Great Britain under President Pierce. There was also a third party in the field. The rapid increase of foreign immigration since the invention of screw steamers had begun to excite alarm among some people, and a party was formed in 1852 which called itself the American party.



James Buchanan

FIG. 53.—President James Buchanan. (From an etching by H. B. Hall, N. Y.)

Its policy was chiefly summed up in opposing the easy naturalization of foreigners. Its members took an oath to support some organization which they were told would promote their designs, but the precise nature and objects of which were kept concealed from all except its members of the higher grades. To all inquiries respecting this organization, its members were apt to reply with a profession of ignorance, so that they soon came to be nicknamed "Know-Nothings." It was customary for

them to wear on their waistcoats or shirt-fronts little brass badges. In 1856 this party served as a refuge for a remnant of Whigs who could not bring their minds to say either yes or no to any question about slavery. It nominated as its Presidential candidate ex-President Millard Fillmore. In the election in November, the Know-Nothings carried the state of Maryland, with eight electoral votes; the Republicans obtained 114 electoral votes; the Democrats obtained 174, and James Buchanan became the next President.

Two days after his inauguration in March, 1857, the Supreme Court gave its final judgment in one of the most famous cases that has ever been brought before it. Dred Scott was the slave of a Missourian who in 1834 took him to Illinois, where he lived four years, and thence to the territory of Minnesota, whence, after some years, he returned with him to Missouri. After a while Dred Scott was whipped by his master, and thereupon brought against him an action for damages, on the ground that he was not a slave. He had lived for some years in Illinois, where slavery was prohibited by statute, and also in Minnesota, where slavery was prohibited by the Missouri Compromise. He had therefore become a free man. The person who claimed to be still Dred Scott's master alleged that, inasmuch as that slave had never been formally set free, he was still a slave and unable to bring suit in court. The Missouri court gave judgment in favor of Dred Scott; the defendant then appealed, and at last the question was brought before the Supreme Court of the United States.

The decision rendered by that august body was very startling, and must in all soberness be reckoned among those decisions, happily very few, which have tended to diminish the high respect in which it is commonly held. The decision was in substance that Dred Scott was not a citizen of Missouri, but simply a chattel or piece of merchandise, and consequently the case must be dismissed for want of jurisdiction. It was further observed by the court that Congress could no more prohibit a man from carrying his slaves into any state or territory than it could prohibit his carrying his horses or his portmanteaus, since slaves were a kind of property guaranteed by the Federal Constitution. To this astounding decision it was objected by one of the dissenting justices, Benjamin Curtis, the greatest lawyer on the bench, that the security of slave property was guaranteed only by those state laws which made them property, and that a slave-owner, by passing into a state where such laws were not in force, lost the guarantee. This dissenting opinion was of course in harmony with the intentions of the men who framed

the Constitution. The decision of the court, on the other hand, went beyond the furthest permissible limit of loose construction.

At this point, be it noted, it began to become apparent that the policy of the slave power had undergone a radical change. For a long time it had insisted upon strict construction and state rights, and it had allied itself with the Democratic party, seeking shelter under strict-constructionist principles. In the compromises of 1850 it sought to enlist the national government on its side in enforcing the fugitive-slave law; but although the insistence of the slave power upon this point was aggressive, yet there was nothing in the fugitive-slave law that was obviously incompatible with strict-constructionist principles. But in the Dred Scott decision the slave power suddenly passed over to a loose-constructionist attitude, outdoing anything that had hitherto been done in this direction. The reason for this change of attitude was the discovery that squatter sovereignty was a stronger weapon in the hands of the North than in those of the South. Such was the lesson of the struggle in Kansas. The slave power was fast learning that nothing could avail for its purposes unless the national government could be enlisted on its side. Hence the Dred Scott decision, which practically meant that any slave-holder could move into any free state, taking his slaves with him, and could there retain them in slavery. At this point the Democrats of the North parted company from the Democrats of the South. Douglas and his friends adhered to their doctrine of squatter sovereignty, and thus was prepared that schism in the Democratic party which presently gave victory to the Republicans.

Since 1850 the hunger of the slave power for more territory had shown itself in various ways. In 1853, by what is known as the Gadsden purchase, several thousand square miles of land were obtained from Mexico. Much nearer at hand lay the tempting prize of Cuba, the acquisition of which might ultimately make two or three states enlisted in the interests of slavery. When England and France in 1853 requested the United States to join them in an agreement to guarantee Cuba permanently to Spain, the United States refused; and this refusal, as later events have shown, was most fortunate for the people of Cuba. In 1854 the American ministers to England, France, and Spain held a conference at the town of Ostend in Belgium, and there issued what was known as the Ostend Manifesto, an unofficial declaration that the interests of the United States demanded the annexation of Cuba. Lawless expeditions for securing that object had already been begun, and were carried on for several years; from an old word well

known in the West Indies, these were called filibustering expeditions. The best known of these were those of Lopez, who was defeated and strangled at Havana in 1851, and William Walker, who after several defeats was at length captured and shot on the coast of Honduras in 1860.

It was, moreover, held by some of the slave-holders that the importation of slaves from Africa, which had been prohibited in 1808, should be renewed. Such a policy was not likely to find any supporters in the border states, but in South Carolina and the Gulf states there were many who favored it, and there is no doubt that more or less importation of slaves caught in Africa went on surreptitiously during the years that immediately preceded the civil war.

At the town of Leecompton in Kansas, a convention of pro-slavery men framed a state constitution, which was to be submitted to the people with the following alternative: "For the constitution with slavery," or "For the constitution without slavery." Inasmuch as this alternative prevented any votes against the constitution, the free-state settlers stayed away from the polls, and a majority of 6000 votes accepted the Leecompton constitution with slavery. Then the legislature of the territory ordered a new election, in which the people could vote either for or against the Leecompton constitution, and the result was a majority of 10,000 votes against it. The pro-slavery men denied that the legislature had any authority to order this new election, and that it was therefore invalid. In December, 1857, this quarrel was carried into Congress, and formed the occasion for a break between Senator Douglas and the slave-holders. President Buchanan was in favor of admitting Kansas to the Union with the Leecompton constitution, while Douglas denounced the trick by which it had been sought to force that constitution upon the people of Kansas. In 1859 a new convention, in calling which all the legal proprieties had been observed, met at the town of Wyandotte and framed a state constitution prohibiting slavery. This constitution received a popular majority of 4000 votes, and thus it was conclusively shown that the doctrine of squatter sovereignty helped the North far more than the South.

Since the admission of California in 1850 had disturbed the even balance in the Senate between North and South, two more free states had been added—Minnesota in 1858 and Oregon in 1859—without any new state to balance them, while in the House of Representatives the relative strength of the North was rapidly increasing. There were people in the Southern states who believed that it would be possible for

the slave power to make better terms for itself by seceding from the Union and entering into negotiations as an independent power. If that experiment were ever to be tried, the time was evidently at hand, inasmuch as it might result in an armed conflict, although few believed that it would; and if a fight were to ensue, it was clearly folly to wait until the physical superiority of the North should be further increased. In all probability, those who held such views were a minority, even in the Gulf states; but they appealed to a variety of interests and sentiments which were calculated to make them the controlling force at the South in the event of an outbreak of war.

At this moment an event occurred which was calculated to inflict just discredit upon the anti-slavery men and to enflame the passions of the Southern people to the highest point. We have already mentioned the crank, John Brown, of Ossawatimie. In the autumn of 1859 this man, with a few comrades, seized the town of Harper's Ferry, on the Potomac River. This gave them possession of the United States arsenal at that place. The purpose was to stir up a general insurrection of slaves. The defeat and capture of Brown were accomplished by the militia of Maryland and Virginia, and in December John Brown suffered death on the gallows (PLATE III.). At the end he behaved with great dignity, and it may be said that nothing in his life became him so much as the way in which he left it. At the North there were abolitionists who not only approved his mad act, but went so far as to liken him to the best and bravest saints recorded in history; but the Northern people in general were emphatic in their condemnation of the man and his deeds. It was only afterward, in the brief excitement of the civil war, that his name was half jocosely treated as that of a popular hero.

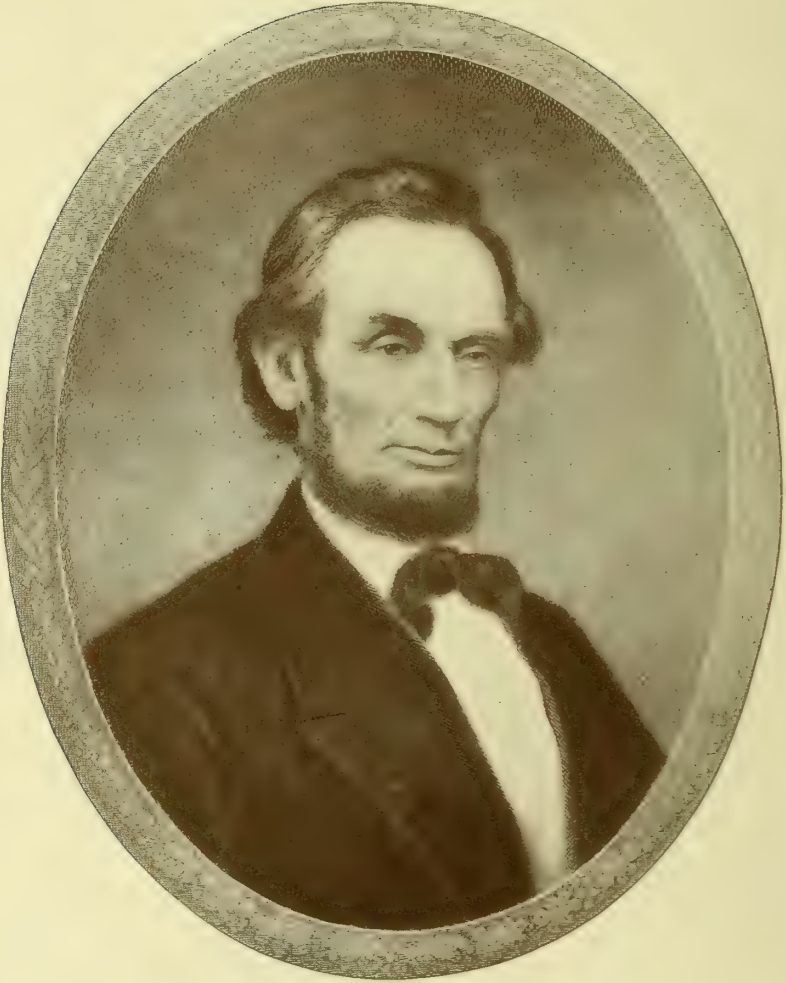
The nominations for President in 1860 revealed the fatal split in the Democratic party. The candidate of the slave power was John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, who was Vice-President under Buchanan. The Northern Democrats nominated Douglas. A remnant of Whigs and Know-Nothings, calling itself the Constitutional Union party, nominated John Bell, of Tennessee, one of the ablest leaders in the border states, and for Vice-President it nominated Edward Everett, of Massachusetts; whence the party was commonly known as the Bell-Everett party. The motto inscribed upon its flags was, "The Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws," the last clause being a sufficiently vague and comprehensive way of alluding to the fugitive-slave law, the only law concerning the enforcement of which there could be any question. The candidate of the Republicans was a man



John Brown on his way to Execution.

From a contemporary engraving.

PLATE IV.



Abraham Lincoln.

From an unlettered proof by Marshall. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq.,
Philadelphia.

who had only lately acquired a national reputation. Abraham Lincoln (PLATE IV.) was, even in a greater degree than Andrew Jackson, a man whose native abilities had raised him from the lowest stratum of society ; but Lincoln was a man of far larger mould and higher type than Jackson. His parents belonged to what some have called the mean white class of the South. His education was acquired mostly by contact with other men. His best text-books were Shakespeare, Bunyan, and the English Bible, and from their well of English undefiled he may have learned that incomparable style which ranks him among the greatest masters of human speech that the world has seen. In the course of his practice as a country lawyer, he showed those qualities which made him loved and trusted as a leader of men. He was absolutely honest and faithful to duty, infinitely patient, and endowed with that unerring sagacity that is never found except in sympathetic natures. He took a profoundly serious view of life, and his thoughts were inclined toward melancholy ; but this was relieved and sometimes veiled by a grotesque and sometimes boisterous humor. He was a master of the art of persuasion, and as a debater has had few equals. Although he served for a short time in Congress, he did not acquire a national reputation until 1858, when Douglas was a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate. Then Lincoln and Douglas went up and down the state of Illinois, debating before large audiences the stirring questions of the day. Here Lincoln's power at once attracted general notice. He did not prevent Douglas from returning to the Senate, but he drew from him such admissions as made it impossible for the South to accept him as its candidate for President. In the Republican convention of 1860 the most prominent candidate was at first William Seward, of New York, who was regarded by many as the ablest man in the party ; but Seward was by some people regarded as too much imbued with the abolitionist spirit, and Lincoln was considered safer. His nomination took many people by surprise. In the election the Bell-Everetts received the electoral votes of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, while all the rest of the slave states, except Missouri, went for Breckinridge. Douglas obtained the nine votes of Missouri and three from New Jersey. The other four votes of New Jersey and those of all the other free states were given to Lincoln, who thus had 180 electoral votes against 103 for the other candidates combined. The popular vote, however, needs especial mention, since the minority vote for Douglas throughout the Northern states was very large. The total vote for Lincoln was 1,866,452 ; for Douglas, 1,375,157 ; for Breckinridge,

847,953; for Bell, 590,631. It will thus be observed that the total vote opposed to Lincoln was 2,823,741; so that under a system of direct popular voting, without the device of the electoral college, there would have been no choice.

The election of Lincoln was immediately followed by the secession of South Carolina (Fig. 54). A convention at Charleston, December 20,

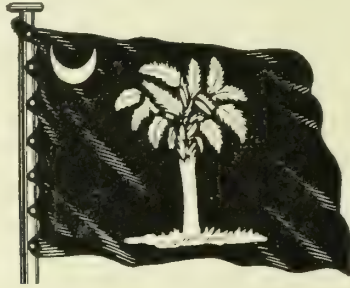


FIG. 54.—State flag of South Carolina. (From "Magazine of American History," vol. xiv.)

1860 (Fig. 55), repealed the act of the convention of 1788, which ratified the Constitution of the United States, and formally declared that the union between South Carolina and the other states was dissolved. By the beginning of February, 1861, the states of Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana had passed similar ordinances of secession, and Texas was about doing likewise. On the 4th of February, delegates from these states met at Montgomery in Alabama, and framed a provisional constitution for the "Confederate States of America." Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was chosen President of this confederacy, with Alexander Hamilton Stephens (Fig. 56), of Georgia, for Vice-President. It should be noted that Stephens himself was opposed to the policy of secession, but felt constrained by loyalty to his state.

The constitution adopted at Montgomery was in most respects a copy of the Constitution of the United States. In those particulars in which it differed from its predecessor it was a marked improvement upon it. It expressly forbade its Congress to issue bills of credit. It prohibited protective tariffs and internal improvements. It lengthened the Presidential term to six years and made the President ineligible for a second term. It gave the President the right to veto individual items in an appropriation bill, and it required a two-thirds vote in Congress to make any appropriation which was not requested and estimated in figures by the heads of executive departments. It granted seats in Congress to these executive heads, with the power of debating, but not

of voting. In general, these variations must be held to be improvements upon our Federal Constitution. On the other hand, this new constitution boldly employed the word "slave," which our old constitution sedulously avoided; and it, moreover, guaranteed the Confederacy's protection of slavery in all such territory as it might acquire. The African slave-trade was prohibited, probably in deference to the wishes of the border states; and the Congress was empowered to enact laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves from other American states,

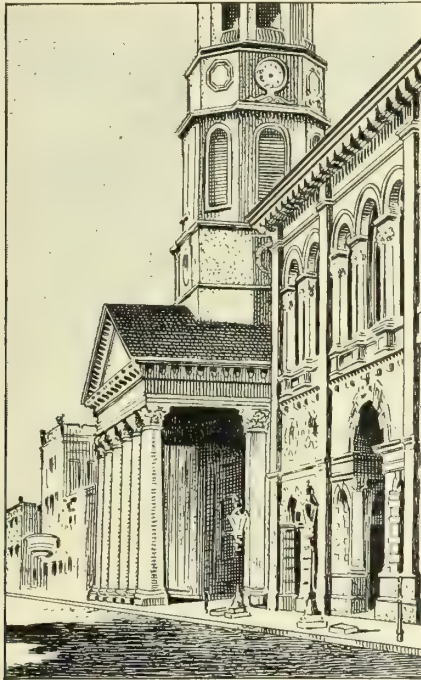


FIG. 55.—Institute Hall, Charleston, where the Secession Convention was held, December 20, 1860. (From "Magazine of American History," vol. xiv.)

which was probably a covert threat aimed at the border states in case they should not see fit to join the Confederacy.

It is not likely that even the most extreme of the Southern leaders seriously expected a war. It was their honest belief that the Federal government had no right to employ coercion in order to prevent a state from leaving the Union. This view was shared by many people at the North, and it dictated the policy of President Buchanan. At the same time, it was quite generally felt at the North that the Southern leaders were simply playing an unusually bold game of bluff, and were likely

to stop short of actual bloodshed. The winter was spent in fruitless attempts at compromise and conciliation. The most notable of these attempts was the Crittenden Compromise, which restored the line of the Missouri Compromise and provided that slavery should be forever prohibited to the north of that line and forever sanctioned to the south of



Yours Truly
Alexander H. Stephens

FIG. 56. Alexander H. Stephens. (From an engraving by R. Whitechurch.)

it, and that the United States government should pay for all fugitive slaves rescued from officers after arrest. On the same day that the seceding states met at Montgomery, a peace congress of delegates from thirteen free states and seven border states met at Washington. This peace congress assembled at the request of Virginia, and its president

was John Tyler, who had formerly been President of the United States. It adopted sundry measures of compromise, but none of them ever came to anything. The withdrawal of the Southern members from Washington left the Republicans in full control of both Houses of Congress, whereupon Kansas was at once admitted to the Union as a free state. On the other hand, the territories of Dakota, Colorado, and Nevada were organized without any mention of slavery, a proceeding which may have been intended as conciliatory, since it left to the Southerners the benefit of the Dred Scott decision, so far as those territories were concerned. At the same time, in view of the probability that the government would soon need an increase of revenue, sundry manufacturers took advantage of the occasion to demand a higher tariff; and the result was that most disastrous and demoralizing measure, the Morrill tariff, the first in a series of retrograde measures that have been largely responsible for the political corruption and the labor troubles of these later days.

The centre of interest during the winter was Charleston harbor, where Fort Sumter was held by a handful of United States soldiers commanded by Major Robert Anderson. Fort Sumter was Federal property; but if South Carolina's act of secession was valid, it became hers, and it was the business of the United States to surrender it to her. The South Carolinians demanded such surrender, and announced that any attempt of the Federal government to relieve it would be treated as an act of war. At this crisis came the inauguration of President Lincoln at Washington (March 4, 1861). Lincoln had been brought up a Whig, and his conception of the Federal Union was like that of Daniel Webster. He believed that in creating the Federal Union our Constitution did not make a league between sovereign states, but that it called into existence a national government indissoluble in its nature and sovereign within certain defined limits over the several states. According to this view, South Carolina's act of secession was of no more account than a bit of waste paper, and her attitude was one of rebellion against lawful authority. Lincoln accordingly made preparations to relieve Fort Sumter; and as soon as the people of Charleston perceived this, they opened fire upon Fort Sumter from various batteries in the harbor. After a bombardment of thirty hours, the fort surrendered, April 14, 1861. The next morning's newspapers, which published this news throughout the North, contained also a proclamation by President Lincoln, calling for 75,000 men to suppress the rebellion, and summoning Congress to convene in extra session on the coming 4th of July. Thus began the great civil war.

CHAPTER III.

THE CIVIL WAR.

FROM end to end of the Northern states the response to President Lincoln's proclamation was prompt and enthusiastic and wellnigh unanimous. The Webster theory of our national government was the theory upon which President Jackson had once acted in a great crisis. It was the prevailing theory at the North with all political parties. It was not merely the Republicans that sprang to arms in defence of the Union; most of the Democrats did likewise, following the lead of Douglas, who, then upon his deathbed, declared it to be the duty of all true Americans, without distinction of party, to stand by President Lincoln. This was very disappointing to the leaders in the secession movement, inasmuch as they had hoped to be able to bring a united South against a divided North. Throughout the war it was only a small minority of the Democratic party at the North that sympathized with the South. These Northern secessionists were nicknamed Copperheads, from the well-known venomous snake so called. The nickname, of course, was often loosely and unfairly applied to persons who, having no sympathy whatever with secession, sometimes criticised adversely certain measures of Lincoln's administration.

While Lincoln's proclamation of April 15, 1861, thus tended to unify the North, it tended to a certain extent to unify the South. The action of the border states was of vast importance. Most people in those states were opposed to the principle of secession, but believed that if any state should choose to secede, however unjustifiable and foolish its act might be, nevertheless neither President nor Congress had any right to stop it. With most of these people, loyalty to their state was stronger than loyalty to the Union; and they felt, moreover, that to make war upon their sister states at the behest of President Lincoln would be committing an atrocious crime. Under the influence of these feelings, the states of Arkansas, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Virginia seceded from the Union and joined the Confederacy. In judging the action of these states, it ought never to be said that they went to war in defence of slavery. Their real motive was defence of the sacred

right of self-government, which they believed to be fatally imperilled by President Lincoln's course; and they joined the Confederacy as the lesser of two evils. Their action nearly doubled the strength of the Confederacy and greatly complicated the problem with which President Lincoln had to deal. It was fortunate that along with his great natural sagacity he had the experience which came from passing his earlier years in contact with that border state society.

The great physical and moral significance of the secession of Virginia was soon emphasized by the removal of the Confederate seat of govern-

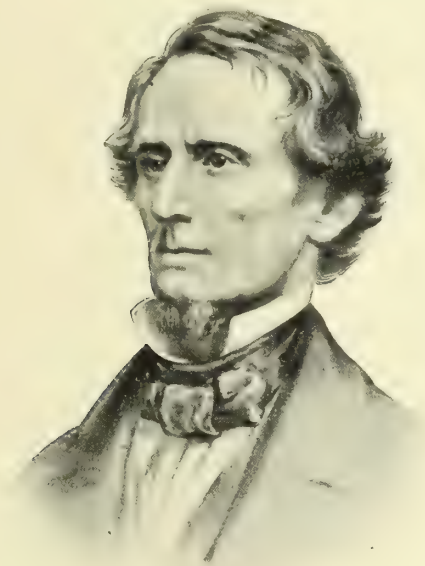


FIG. 57.—Jefferson Davis, President of the Southern Confederacy. (From a lithograph by Koppel. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

ment (Fig. 57) from Montgomery (Fig. 58) to Richmond. The aggressive centre of the Confederacy was thus brought up to the very threshold of our national capital, and the course of events in Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri was watched with breathless interest. While the prevailing tone of sentiment in those states was very different from that of Vermont or Wisconsin, there were, nevertheless, very strong influences restraining them from risking their fortunes with the Confederacy. Among such influences may be noted the mere fact of the existence of such large cities as Baltimore, Louisville, and St. Louis, with their close mercantile associations with cities at the North. Great excitement

was caused on the 19th of April, when a small body of troops from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, hurrying through Baltimore southward, was fired on by the mob, with a loss of several lives. This

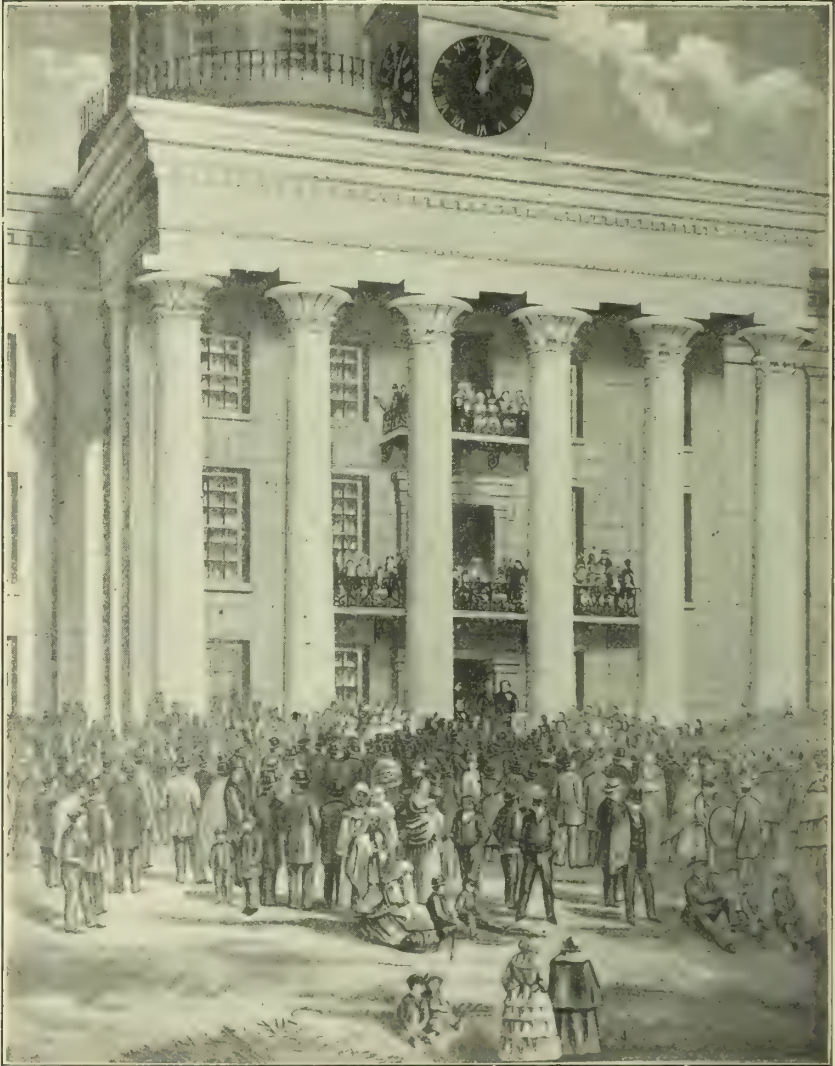


FIG. 58. Inauguration of Jefferson Davis as President of the Southern Confederacy, Feb. 18, 1861, at Montgomery, Alabama. (From a facsimile of a photograph taken on the spot. Lithographed by Hoen. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

showed the ugly feeling of the Baltimore mob; nevertheless, the leading men of Maryland were true to the Union, and secession was never seriously contemplated in that state.

The sentiment in Kentucky was decidedly averse to secession, and, on the whole, was probably not very different from that of the forty western counties of Virginia, which refused to abide by the action of their own state and performed a little act of secession on their own account, breaking off from Virginia and demanding admission to the Union as a new state (West Virginia). This admission, which was presently granted by Congress, was legally one of the pardonable irregularities of a time of war. The action of Kentucky was strongly influenced for good by the tact of Lincoln, aided by the rashness of the Confederate government, as we shall presently see. The course of events in that state was greatly influenced by the action of Missouri, where a bold initiative in behalf of the Union was taken at a very early moment by two men of



FIG. 59.—Francis Preston Blair, Jr. (From an engraving by George E. Perine.)

extraordinary force and courage. Francis Preston Blair (Fig. 59), the second of that name, was a son of President Jackson's confidential friend and adviser, already mentioned. The blood of that redoubtable Scotchman, the founder of William and Mary College, coursed in his veins. For some years he had been prominent as a lawyer in St. Louis. A true Jacksonian Democrat and Free-Soiler, his face was always resolutely set against any measures that looked toward secession. His most important coadjutor was Nathaniel Lyon (Fig. 60), a captain in the regular army

and commandant of the St. Louis arsenal. Lyon was a man of small stature, but great in soul, quick of perception, prompt in action, and lion hearted, in the old sense of that phrase. Montgomery Blair, brother of Francis, was a member of Lincoln's Cabinet, and there was close communication between the White House and Blair's home at St. Louis. The situation was peculiar, for while the action of a state convention in February had shown an overwhelming majority opposed



N. Lyon

FIG. 60.—Brigadier-General Nathaniel Lyon.

to secession, nevertheless the governor and a powerful party in the legislature were determined but unavowed secessionists, and it was their object to dragoon the state into seceding from the Union. It was their purpose to capture the arsenal at St. Louis; but Lyon foiled them by guarding with batteries the approaches to the arsenal, while he removed the greater part of its coveted contents across the river into Illinois. At the same time, the governor intended to use for secessionist purposes

a drill-camp in the western part of St. Louis, named after himself, Camp Jackson, and to this place some guns and ammunition sent up on steamers from Baton Rouge were secretly conveyed. How Blair and Lyon detected these proceedings and how they suddenly marched upon Camp Jackson with a force of loyal troops and captured it, May 10, 1861, is one of the most romantic episodes of the great war that was beginning. In our limited space we can do no more than say that this first decisive blow soon developed into a civil war in Missouri, in which Blair and Lyon overturned the secessionist government and placed matters in such shape that the state was preserved to the Union. In the course of this conflict the brave Lyon met his death while gallantly leading a charge at the battle of Wilson's Creek in July, where the Union arms sustained a reverse. Many historians, whose attention has been too closely concentrated upon the war in Virginia, have neglected the vast importance of these events in Missouri. That importance may be estimated from two facts : first, Missouri, once rescued from secession, proved to be a force about equal to that of Massachusetts on the Union side ; second, the strategic position of Missouri, on the flank of Kentucky and Tennessee, was of primary importance, and if that state had gone over to the Confederacy, she might have blocked that Union advance up the Cumberland River which constituted the first great triumph of the North.

To note the beginnings of that advance, we must return to Kentucky. At first that state announced that she would pursue an attitude of strict neutrality, which was much like a stone suspended in mid-air declaring that if its cord were cut it would neither ascend nor fall. Fortunately, President Lincoln was wiser than his abolitionist friends, and knew how to keep in touch with the sentiments of the border states. His policy, for which at first he was roundly blamed by abolitionists, was identical with that of Daniel Webster : to save the Union, without slavery if possible, but at all events, to save the Union. So when Frémont was placed in military command over the Department of the West, and issued a proclamation practically inviting slaves to escape from their owners, Lincoln promptly overruled and rebuked him, giving him to understand that it would be enough for him to attend to his military duties and leave the direction of political affairs to his superiors. It is quite probable that if Frémont had not been thus checked, Kentucky might have been driven into the arms of the Confederacy. On the other hand, the Confederate government showed no such tact, but sent that famous ecclesiastical warrior, Leonidas Polk, Bishop of Louisiana and major-general, at the

head of a Confederate force, into Kentucky, where he proceeded to fortify the bluffs at Columbus, on the Mississippi River. The immediate effect of this imprudent act of invasion was to turn Kentucky decisively to the side of the Union. Heretofore President Lincoln had studiously refrained from allowing Federal troops to cross the Ohio River. But now he saw that the right moment had come. The key to the military situation was the little town of Paducah, near the place where the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers flow into the Ohio. Polk was intending to seize this point, but a Union force anticipated him and



P. G. Beauregard

FIG. 61.—General Pierre Gustave Toussaint Beauregard, of the Confederate Army.

occupied Paducah at the beginning of September. At this point Kentucky declared herself irrevocably for the Union, and many of the leading secessionists left the state.

The force which thus occupied Paducah was commanded by a brigadier-general of volunteers, named Ulysses Simpson Grant. He was a graduate of West Point, and had served with credit in the Mexican war, but had afterward left the army and engaged without success in several mercantile operations. He was now in his fortieth year,

reputed to be somewhat too fond of a social glass, and generally regarded by his friends as a broken man for whom no future was to be expected. His first offer of services to the government had passed unheeded; but the government of Illinois had discerned some good in him, and placed him in the position for which his destiny had been waiting.

We cannot undertake, in this brief narrative, even to mention by name the minor incidents of the civil war. We have space only to



J. E. Johnston

FIG. 62.—Brigadier-General Joseph Eccleston Johnston, of the Confederate Army.

indicate those which were of real importance, and therefore we will not detain the reader with any account of Grant's little drawn battle with Polk at Belmont, in November. Before we describe the great movement by which he presently followed it, we must revert to the Atlantic seaboard and see how the summer had passed there.

The general-in-chief of the United States armies was still the aged Winfield Scott, who had been a general officer as far back as the war of 1812; his substantial services had been rewarded with a brevet of

lieutenant-general, a higher rank than had been conferred upon any other American officer since George Washington. He was now too old for the weighty responsibilities of his position; but he understood them far better than the enthusiastic editors and public speakers who were daily vociferating the war-cry, "On to Richmond!" In the middle of July a Union army of about 30,000 men under Irwin McDowell confronted at Manassas Junction a somewhat smaller Confederate force under Pierre Beauregard (Fig. 61), while in the Shenandoah valley a rebel force under Joseph Johnston (Fig. 62) was watched by a Union force com-



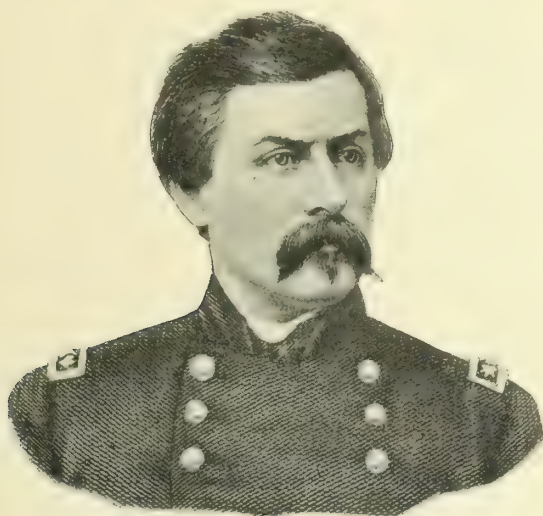
T. J. Jackson

FIG. 63.—Major-General Thomas Jonathan Jackson (Stonewall Jackson), of the Confederate Army.

manded by Robert Patterson, a veteran of the war of 1812. It was hoped that Patterson would play the part in which Grouchy failed at Waterloo, and would detain Johnston west of the Blue Ridge while McDowell should annihilate Beauregard at Manassas. But Patterson played the part of Grouchy too well, even to the point of failure. While McDowell advanced upon the enemy at the little stream called Bull Run, the wily Johnston began eluding Patterson and arrived in person at Bull Run before McDowell had reached that point. Let me here pause for a moment, dear reader, to explain that by the words "rebel" and "enemy," as used in this narrative, no stigma is implied. In military

usage, when we are speaking of McDowell, "the enemy" was Johnston; when we are speaking of Johnston, "the enemy" was McDowell. As for the term "rebel," it has in history been as often a term of honor as a term of reproach; in the present narrative it is used in neither sense, but simply as expressing the undoubted fact that the Southerners were trying to overthrow an established government; and it is sometimes a convenient word to use, as enabling us to avoid the too constant reiteration of the term "Confederate."

To return to our narrative: On July 21, in a well-planned battle, McDowell seemed on the point of victory; but the retreat of the Con-



G. B. McClellan

FIG. 64.—Major-General George Brinton McClellan. (From an engraving by H. B. Hall & Sons, N. Y.)

federates was checked by the indomitable persistency of a brigade which, in the words of an admiring officer on the field, stood as immovable as a stone wall. The commander of that brigade was one of the most brilliant commanders and interesting personalities of modern history, whose baptismal name has been quite superseded by the epithet which from that day forward has clung to him. Few men to-day remember who Thomas Jonathan Jackson was, but who in this world has not heard of Stonewall Jackson (Fig. 63)? While things were at this critical point, fresh detachments of Johnston's men kept arriving upon the scene,

until presently the Union army was driven back, defeat was followed by panic, and the day ended in the utter rout of the Union forces.

The general effect of Bull Run abroad was to create a belief that the South was going to win in the war, while at home the Southerners were unduly elated. On the other hand, the Northern people, after a moment of depression, were only stimulated to fresh exertions. As a partial offset to this disaster, the summer saw some Union victories in West Virginia. That region was practically redeemed, and one effect of this was to bring into the foreground two commanders, George Brinton McClellan (Fig. 64) and William Starke Rosecrans (Fig. 65). Of the



W. S. Rosecrans

FIG. 65.—Major-General William Starke Rosecrans. (From an engraving by H. B. Hall.)

former of these, whose rank among the Union generals was high, most extravagant expectations were formed. On the strength of a few insignificant successes, the young McClellan was likened to the young Napoleon of Montenotte and Millesimo. Early in November, when Scott was relieved from the chief command, McClellan was put in his place, an appointment which the result did not justify. There followed a busy season of preparation, during which a serious complication with Great Britain was barely avoided.

The Southern leaders, in entering upon the war, had counted upon the sympathy and hoped for the active aid of England and France. As one of their orators pithily observed, "Cotton is king!" They reasoned plausibly that the great factories of England would be obliged to stop work in the absence of cotton; and while the Federal navy blockaded the coast of the revolted states, the distress among the working classes in England would become so great that the British government would feel obliged to interfere and break the blockade, which would inevitably bring on war between Great Britain and the United States. In point of fact, when in the summer of 1861 President Lincoln announced his intention of blockading 3000 miles of coast, the whole world smiled in derision; nevertheless it was not long before that blockade became effective, an achievement unparalleled in history, and presently the supply of cotton in England became so scant that the mills were closed and thousands of families were at the point of starvation. It was true, moreover, that Lord Palmerston's government was unfriendly to the United States and willing to see its strength diminish. Great surprise was expressed at this unfriendly attitude of the English government; but when we consider how American newspapers and public speakers had for two generations been heaping abuse upon the mother country, partly as a Fourth-of-July tradition, and partly to attract the Irish vote, this surprise at finding Englishmen not madly in love with us has its comic side. Nevertheless, whatever may have been the attitude of Palmerston's government, that of the English people in general was one of sympathy with the North, and there was one consideration which made it almost impossible for England to take any steps in behalf of the South. For thirty years she had been using all her power and influence for the suppression of negro slavery, and therefore she could not bring herself to the point of avowedly interfering in aid of a community which had unblushingly declared, in the words of Stephens, its Vice-President, that it was founded upon slavery as its cornerstone. Hence, England undertook to relieve the distress of her people by planting cotton in India, and the Confederacy was left to work out its problem unaided.

As for France, it was notorious that Napoleon III. courted the friendship of the South, but there was a strong public sentiment in France hostile to slavery, which greatly hampered him; at all events, he dared not take a decisive step without the aid of England, and although he more than once solicited such aid, it was persistently refused. The most that he was able to do was to take advantage of dis-

sensions in Mexico to send a small army to that country and install there an emperor, an Austrian prince named Maximilian, who was a satellite of Napoleon's. For the time being the United States government had its hands too full to deal with this infraction of the Monroe Doctrine.

Early in the summer, both England and France had recognized the Confederacy as a belligerent entitled to the ordinary belligerent rights.



William H. Seward

FIG. 66.—William Henry Seward, Secretary of State (1861-1869).

For a moment this excited some displeasure at the North, but it was soon seen to be merely the proper recognition of existing facts. At the end of the year a new situation was unexpectedly created. The Confederate government commissioned John Mason, of Virginia, as its agent at the court of Great Britain, and John Slidell, of Louisiana, as its agent at Paris. These gentlemen contrived to embark at Havana on the English steamer *Trent*, but they had not proceeded far when the *Trent* was overhauled by the American war-ship *San Jacinto*, commanded by

Captain Wilkes, and a search was made. Messrs. Slidell and Mason were surrendered under protest to Captain Wilkes, who carried them to Fort Warren in Boston harbor. As soon as the Trent reached England Lord Palmerston demanded that the act should be disavowed and the rebel commissioners given up, and this demand was made with needless asperity. For a moment the act of Captain Wilkes was greeted with applause by people at the North, but on reflection the right and wrong of the case were too clear to be mistaken. This right of search, extended to neutral vessels, was one which Great Britain had ruthlessly exercised in the Napoleonic wars, and against which the United States had always protested. Indeed, it was one of the causes which



FIG. 67.—Major-General Don Carlos Buell.

had led us to declare war against Great Britain in 1812. Now, with the lapse of time, Great Britain had come to adopt the rule upon which the United States had so long insisted, and here, on the first occasion that was presented, the United States was found doing the very thing which she always blamed Great Britain for. Under the circumstances, President Lincoln acted with promptness and grace. He disavowed the act of Captain Wilkes as contrary to American principles, and forthwith surrendered the two commissioners, who proceeded to London and Paris, to work such mischief for the United States as they might find within their power. The episode is in a high degree creditable to the good sense and fair-mindedness of the American people, who even under

the sting of Palmerston's rudeness greeted Lincoln's action with unanimous and warm approval (Fig. 66).

If our ill-wishers in Europe were looking for Confederate successes, the early months of the year 1862 must have gravely disappointed them. Early in March the Confederate forces west of the Mississippi River (PLATE V.) sustained a crushing defeat in the battle of Pea Ridge in Arkansas, at the hands of that able Union general, Samuel Curtis ;

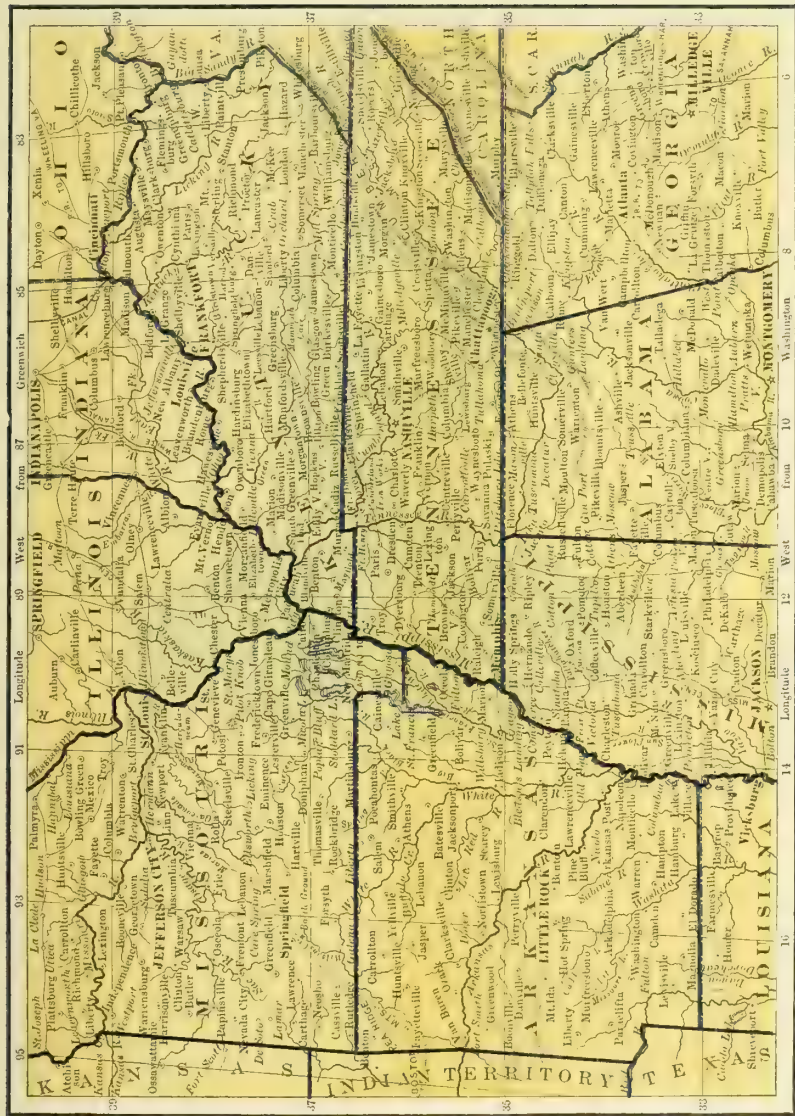


Geo H Thomas

FIG. 68.—Major-General George Henry Thomas.

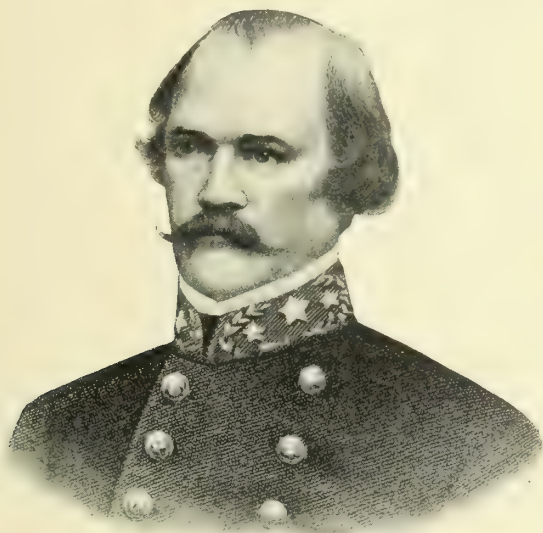
but this important event almost passed unnoticed in the excitement of the momentous victory which had just been won by Grant. Those two great rivers, the Tennessee and Cumberland, constituted a great avenue of approach into the heart of the Confederacy for Union armies supported by gunboats. Across this broad avenue the Confederates had established a strong line of defences. The left of this line was held by Polk's garrison at Columbus ; its most vital points were Fort Henry on the Tennessee River and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, which

PLATE V.



Map of the Western Theatre of the Civil War.

is there but a few miles distant. These strongholds were occupied by some 20,000 men under General Floyd, and they were earnestly watched by Grant at Paducah. Some distance to the northeastward the rebel line had a salient at Bowling Green, opposed to which was a Union army under Don Carlos Buell (Fig. 67), one of the ablest of our generals. The right of the Confederate line, far to the east near the Cumberland Mountains, was held by General Zollicoffer, who was confronted by one of Buell's subordinates, George Henry Thomas (Fig. 68), a Virginian whose loyalty to the Union outweighed that which he felt toward his native



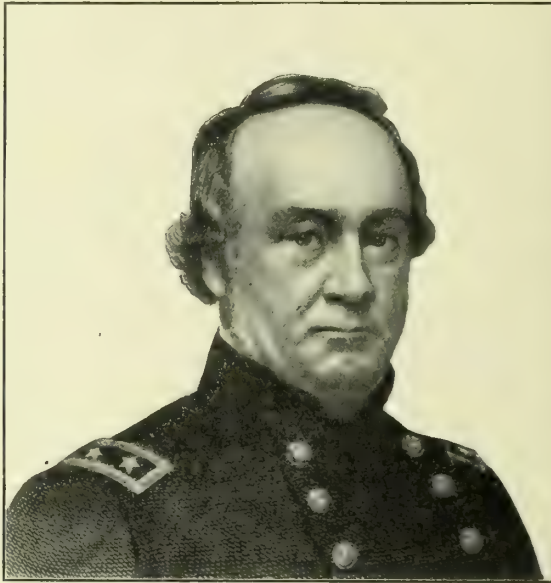
A S Johnston

FIG. 69.—General Albert Sidney Johnston, of the Confederate Army.

state. Thomas was one of the noblest figures in American history, and for military talent he was scarcely second to any commander on either of the opposing sides. In February, 1862, he began his brilliant career by annihilating the force of Zollicoffer in the battle of Mill Spring.

But this victory, like that won by Curtis at Pea Ridge, was scarcely noticed in the excitement over the movement which Grant made from Paducah. Early in February, with about 25,000 men, supported by a squadron of gunboats under Commodore Foote, Grant ascended the Tennessee River, surprised and captured Fort Henry, and a few days later invested Fort Donelson. After a couple of days of severe fight-

ing, in which more than 2000 men were killed and wounded, Fort Donelson was surrendered to Grant with its entire surviving force of about 15,000 men (PLATE VI.). Perhaps people were scarcely more astonished by this sudden victory than by its immediate results. Since the two great rivers were thrown open to Grant's army supported by gunboats, the positions at Columbus and Bowling Green at once became untenable and were abandoned by the rebels, who were also obliged to



H. W. Halleck
Genl in Chf

FIG. 70.—Major-General Henry Wager Halleck. (From an engraving by J. A. O'Neill, New York.)

give up Nashville, the capital of Tennessee. The Confederate commander, Albert Sidney Johnston (Fig. 69), was obliged to abandon that state and to retire upon the little town of Corinth in Northern Mississippi. Grant's first movement was therefore conceived in a grand style and its results were upon a grand scale.

Another success followed at New Madrid and Island Number Ten, on the Mississippi River, which were attacked by a Union army under

Headquarters, Army in the Field
Camp near Fort Menden, February 16th 1862.

Sir: Yours of this date, proposing armistice and appointment of
Commissioners to settle terms of Capitulation, is just received. No
terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be
accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works.

I am very respectfully, your obedient servant

U. S. Grant

Brigadier General, Commanding

General U. S. Grant,
Confederate Army,

Copied by Mrs. October 29th 1884.
U. S. G.

Faefimile of Grant's "Unconditional Surrender" Letter.
From the "Century Magazine."

John Pope. The principal feature of the campaign was the cutting down of trees in the submerged forest, thus making an extraordinary canal through which the Union gunboats could pass and turn the rebel position without suffering from the fire of its batteries. The result was the capture of the whole Confederate force of 7000 men without the loss of a single life on the Union side.

The next step in order for the Union forces in the West was to advance against Corinth, where Sidney Johnston had concentrated some 50,000 men, while Beauregard had come to act as his second in com-

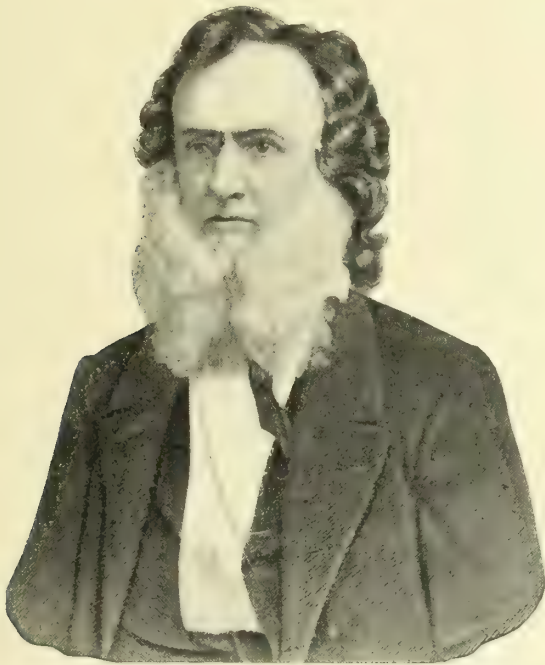


FIG. 71.—Gideon Welles, Secretary of the Navy (1861-1869).

mand and to aid with advice and counsel. The command of the Union forces west of the Alleghany Mountains was now in the hands of Henry Wager Halleck (Fig. 70), an officer who had won considerable reputation for books on military affairs and on international law. His fate was one that is not unusual with people who are so unfortunate as to win a reputation in advance of performance: his appointment proved to be a prolific source of disasters to the Union arms. The principal forces in Halleck's department were those of Pope on the Mississippi River, about 20,000; those of Grant, numbering about 40,000, henceforth to

be known as the Army of the Tennessee; and those of Buell at Nashville, about 40,000, presently to be known as the Army of the Cumberland. Halleck's headquarters were at St. Louis. The campaign was begun by the advance of Grant's army up the Tennessee River to Pittsburg Landing, where it took up a very strong position on the west side of the river, about twenty miles from Corinth. There Grant awaited the arrival of Buell's army, which was to come from Nashville. At this moment Sidney Johnston suddenly took the offensive and advanced unexpectedly upon Pittsburg Landing with 40,000 men. His plan was to surprise and defeat Grant before Buell could arrive. Out of these circumstances grew the terrible battle of Shiloh, so called from a little rustic church in the foreground of the Union encampment. On the morning of April 6, 1862, the surprise of the Union army was complete. Grant was at Savannah, nine miles down stream, with the first of Buell's divisions, which had just arrived at that point. Lew Wallace's division of 7000 was more than five miles distant, and, owing to ambiguity of orders, did not arrive on the field until nightfall. The Union army at Shiloh was therefore surprised and somewhat outnumbered. But their first confusion was gradually remedied, and, while they were obliged to fall back during the whole day, their resistance was nevertheless so obstinate and their retreat so slow that the Confederate plan of attack proved a failure. Johnston's plan was to turn the Union left wing, seize Pittsburg Landing and cut them off from communication with Buell. His plan of attack was faulty. The weight of his attack fell principally upon the Union centre at a difficult point, where he was held at bay for six hours. In a desperate assault at this point, Johnston was killed, and the command devolved upon Beauregard, whose utmost exertions were unable to effect the capture of Pittsburg Landing. At nightfall, when the Confederate attacks ceased, the Union army still retained its grip upon that vital point, where one division of Buell's men, crossing the river in steamboats, had already arrived. In the course of the night, two more of Buell's divisions came upon the field; and next morning the Union army, thus heavily reinforced, attacked Beauregard, who fought an obstinate battle of seven hours' duration, and then effected a retreat highly creditable to his skill. In those two days, each of the opposing armies lost more than 10,000 men.

The country had scarcely had time to digest the news from Shiloh when there came the tidings of the capture of New Orleans. The credit of that important achievement is due entirely to the navy (Fig. 71), and chiefly to David Glasgow Farragut (PLATE VII.), who commanded the

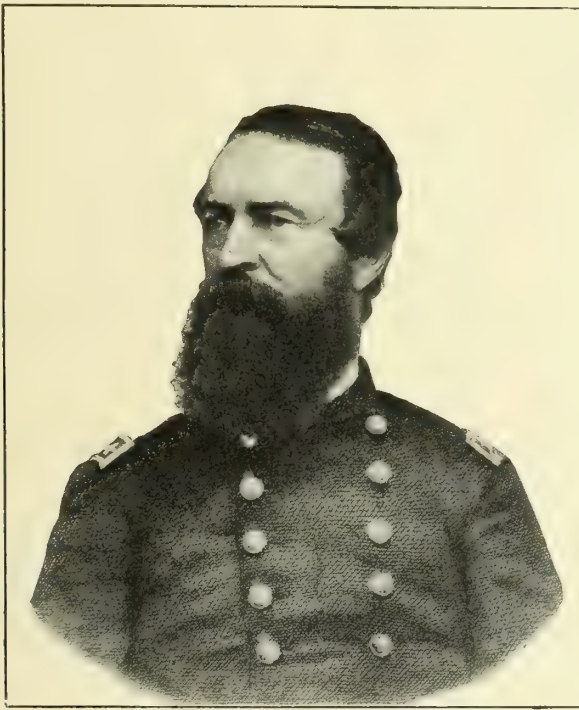
PLATE VII.



Admiral David Glasgow Farragut.

From a photograph.

Union fleet. A squadron of bomb-vessels, under David Dixon Porter (Fig. 72), contributed toward the result. The Confederates had fortified the approaches to their great city with two stout forts and a chain of sunken hulks ; but the Federal gunboat *Itasca* broke through the chain, and Farragut's fleet, after running past the fire of the forts, engaged in a terrific fight with the Confederate war-vessels, nearly all of which it sent to the bottom of the river. After the city had thus been rendered



David D. Porter

FIG. 72.—Admiral David Dixon Porter.

defenceless, a small land-force took possession of it. This force was commanded by Benjamin Franklin Butler, a Massachusetts lawyer who had suddenly turned from an extreme pro-slavery Democrat into a fire-breathing Republican, and who was destined in later days to execute further such changes, being always found on the side that seemed likely to bring credit or pelf to Butler. This person was placed in command of the conquered city.

While these important successes were thus occurring in rapid sequence at the West, a very different kind of tale was unfolding itself at the East. The navy, indeed, made an excellent record, as usual. Between November, 1861, and April, 1862, Union squadrons captured Port Royal, Fort Pulaski, Roanoke Island, and New Berne, and in these and other ways contributed powerfully to the success of the blockade, which was slowly but surely strangling the Confederacy.

At Washington a step was taken which had far-reaching consequences. The Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon Portland Chase (Fig. 73), one of the ablest of the Republican statesmen, felt himself driven to a step



FIG. 73.—Salmon Portland Chase, Secretary of the Treasury (1861-1864). (From an engraving by H. B. Hall, 1862.)

concerning the necessity of which opinions still differ, but which in its results undoubtedly worked graver damage to the nation than all that could be effected by the Confederate armies. This step was the issuing of an inconvertible paper currency by the Legal-tender Act of 1862. The results which in human experience have invariably attended such desperate measures soon followed. Gold was soon at a premium, prices were inflated, and an era of mad speculation soon set in, from the effects of which our country has not yet recovered.

It soon appeared that speculation and corruption were rife. The "spoils system," inherited from President Jackson's time, began to exhibit its evil features in new and alarming ways. The soldiers were

ill-fed and ill-clothed, while the contractors who undertook to supply them grew suddenly rich, insomuch that the phrase "shoddy aristocracy" came into use, from a cloth of inferior quality used in making the soldiers' uniforms. Attempts to bring shoddy contractors to justice were apt to prove unsuccessful, since they usually wielded a kind of argument which proves potent with politicians of frail virtue.

In the course of President Lincoln's first year, much fault was found with the management of the War Department under its Secretary, Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, a finished master in the methods of the spoils system. A person so capable of mischief must be let down easily ; so



FIG. 74.—Edwin McMasters Stanton, Secretary of War (1862-1868).

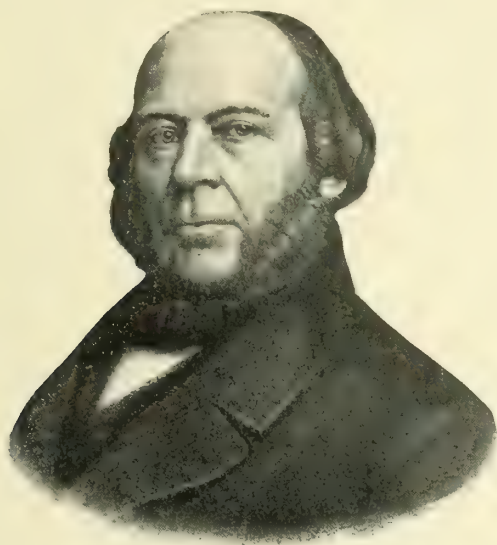
Cameron was sent as minister to Russia, and his place was taken by Edwin McMasters Stanton (Fig. 74), a lawyer of some eminence, who had always been a Democrat, but henceforth rendered most energetic and valuable support to President Lincoln. Stanton was a man of aggressive, not to say violent, personality—domineering, rough, and insulting. Probably no man in the United States at that time aroused such bitter hatred from so many people. Stanton was as narrow-minded as he was hot-headed, and was thus capable of gross injustice toward worthy men ; yet his integrity was beyond question, his devotion to the Union sincere and unselfish, and the gigantic energy and sleepless industry with which he pursued his work, even to the ruin of his iron constitu-

tion, proved invaluable to our overworked and sorely harassed President. At the same time, it strikes us that nothing could better illustrate the masterful nature of Lincoln, which was apt to be veiled by his gentleness and humor, than the fact that in his relations with the domineering Stanton he always remained the master and Stanton the servant.

The great military problem of the moment was how to advance upon Richmond. McClellan was an excellent organizer, and spent the winter in making the Army of the Potomac an efficient military machine; so that, although people blamed him for remaining all winter in front of Joseph Johnston near Manassas, that did not much matter. It was desirable, however, that the early spring should witness an advance, and the question was as to the best method of approaching Richmond. Many people were in favor of a route which would keep the Union army physically interposed between the rebel army and Washington, and this view seems to have been favored by Lincoln and Stanton. It was supposed to be more conducive to the safety of the national capital. On the other hand, there were grave objections to the straight overland route from Washington to Richmond. It was crossed by numerous broad and deep rivers which constituted military obstacles of a most formidable kind. A force advancing by such a route against a skillful and determined adversary might easily lose more than half its numbers without inflicting a decisive defeat upon the enemy; and McClellan knew that Johnston was both skillful and determined. McClellan preferred to go by sea to Chesapeake Bay and ascend the James River, supported by the Federal fleet, and with his base of operations at Fortress Monroe. While neither plan could dispense with hard fighting, McClellan maintained that the James River route would encounter fewer geographical obstacles and insure more effective support. There was much to be said in favor of this view, but the event showed that McClellan could plan much better than he could perform. In the course of the winter, President Lincoln, urged perhaps by Stanton, undertook to play a more direct part than heretofore in the direction of military operations, and accordingly he relieved McClellan of the general command of the armies, restricting him to that of the Army of the Potomac. After prolonged discussion McClellan was allowed to go by sea to Fortress Monroe with 120,000 men, with the understanding that he must leave at Manassas a sufficient force to protect the national capital. Opinions differed as to the number that would be required for that purpose. It was variously estimated at from 25,000 to 40,000 men. McClellan had

planned to leave less than 20,000; but Lincoln thought this force inadequate, and detained McDowell's corps of about 20,000 more. To McClellan's unbusiness-like mind, an excuse for non-performance seemed as good as performance, and he never ceased to appeal to this detainment of McDowell as an adequate explanation of his own want of success.

As soon as Johnston discerned McClellan's plan, he evacuated his lines at Manassas and transferred his whole force to the peninsula,



J. Ericsson

FIG. 75.—John Ericsson.

ready to meet the Northern enemy on his arrival. The fact that on some of Johnston's abandoned works there were found wooden or Quaker cannon served to cast some ridicule upon the Union commander.

Shortly before this transfer of Union and Confederate armies from Manassas to the peninsula, a series of incidents occurred which for a moment called in question the safety of James River as a line of operations for the Union army. Some time before, when the Federals had been obliged to evacuate the navy-yard at Norfolk, among the ships which they scuttled and sank was a wooden frigate called the Merrimac,

The Confederates had afterward fished her up and transformed her into something strange and novel. They cased her in iron armor, with sloping sides, and armed her prow below water with a formidable beak. On Saturday, March 8, this strange craft made her appearance in Hampton Roads, where three Union frigates were riding—three wooden steam frigates which were considered a match for any similar ships in the world. They were the *Cumberland*, the *Congress*, and the *Minnesota*. They were helpless before the *Merrimac*. From her sloping sides the balls from the old-fashioned guns glanced off without doing harm, until presently she came on at full speed and plunged her beak deep into the waist of the *Cumberland*, tearing open her timbers and making a gash from which that ship sank in less than an hour. After this exploit the *Merrimac* raked the *Congress* with hot shot until that vessel took fire and blew up. The *Minnesota* was saved by running into shoal water, where she could not be followed.

The news of this affair was flashed over the country about tea-time, and scarcely any other subject was talked about that evening. Evidently the Union army could not advance by way of James River; perhaps the *Merrimac* might come suddenly northward and bombard New York; who could tell what she might not do? It happened, however, that the next day had another surprise in store. For many years the Swedish engineer, John Ericsson (Fig. 75), had lived in the city of New York, busy with his inventions. He was already famous, for not only had he competed with Stephenson in the introduction of locomotives, but he had devised the screw propeller, which has ever since played so great a part in ocean navigation, and which had already revolutionized naval warfare by making it practicable to employ steam in war-ships. For some years Ericsson had been busy with an abortive scheme for making an engine in which hot air should supplant the work of steam; but lately he had conceived the idea of an entirely novel species of battle-ship. By a curious destiny this craft was completed just in time to arrive in Hampton Roads on the 9th of March, the day following the appearance of the *Merrimac*. The name of Ericsson's new ship was the *Monitor*. When she appeared in Hampton Roads, it was said that she looked like a cheese-box on a raft. The cheese-box was a revolving turret holding on opposite sides two enormous guns which threw balls of a weight hitherto undreamed of, propelled by such charges of powder as had never before been fired. The vessel rode so low in the water as to present but a small surface to the enemy's fire, and the revolutions of her turret were designed as a substitute for those elaborate

evolutions by which in former days broadsides were brought to bear at different angles. It was a moment of dramatic interest when this small black craft went up to the dreaded Merrimac and engaged her (Fig. 76). The result showed that even sloping armor might be indented by artillery sufficiently heavy. After long and heavy pounding, both ships withdrew from the encounter. It could not be said that the Merrimac was defeated, but she had certainly found her match, and the minds of people at the North no longer feared for New York harbor or for McClellan's army.

On McClellan's arrival, however, early in April, the presence of the Merrimac in the neighborhood led him to choose the Pamunkey River, rather than the James, for his line of advance. At Yorktown he

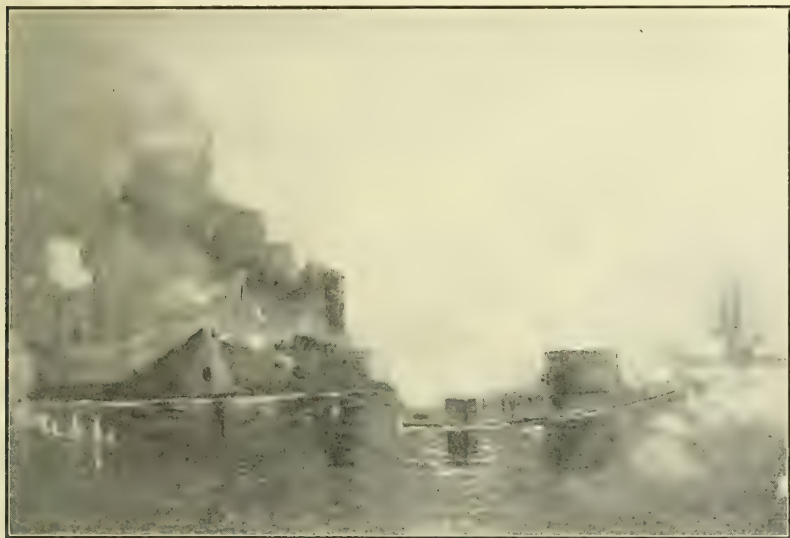


FIG. 76.—The Merrimac and Monitor. (From a colored lithograph by J. O. Davidson. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

encountered a thin defensive line of thirteen miles, held by the rebel General Magruder with 11,000 men, less than one-tenth of his own force. This obstacle held McClellan in check for a month, when the enemy skillfully retreated, leaving him the humiliating prize of a line of empty redoubts. McClellan then advanced, and on May 5 fought a bloody battle with Johnston at Williamsburg. The fight was ill-managed and indecisive, but Johnston's inferior numbers compelled him to retreat. Meanwhile the Confederates, in their turn, had been obliged to abandon Norfolk, and the Merrimac had been destroyed, so that McClellan should naturally have continued his progress by the James River. Instead of this, he continued along the Pamunkey and established his base

at White House, apparently in the hope that he might thus be able to hold communication between his right wing and McDowell's corps at Fredericksburg, which he had never ceased to scold the President for withholding. Toward the end of May McClellan was within seven miles of Richmond, and symptoms of panic began to be visible in the rebel capital. The evil entailed by having the base at White House now became apparent. Further advance toward Richmond necessitated the crossing of the Chickahominy, which was swelled with spring freshets dangerous to pontoon-bridges. McClellan had got two corps

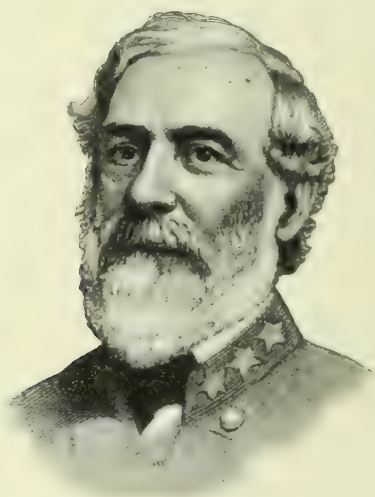


FIG. 77.—General Robert Edward Lee, of the Confederate Army.

across to the south side of that river, where on May 31 Johnston made a fierce attack at the place known as Fair Oaks. After two days of fighting, in which another Union division crossed the river, Johnston's attack was repulsed. Johnston himself was wounded, and his place was taken by a general of equal sagacity and perhaps greater daring, the famous Robert Edward Lee (Fig. 77).

McClellan now realized that White House was an unsound base, and he made up his mind to change it, but was slow to act because he still hoped that McDowell might now approach him in that direction. The movements of McDowell, however, were soon to be swept into a

whirlwind which an unexpected enemy had stirred up in an unforeseen quarter. The Shenandoah valley, debouching upon that of the Potomac at Harper's Ferry and above, formed a most convenient postern through which a rebel army might approach and threaten the city of Washington. This was several times illustrated in the course of the war, first and in the most brilliant fashion by Stonewall Jackson. That region had not been left unguarded, for a force was stationed there under Nathaniel Banks, of Massachusetts, an excellent man, but innocent of any knowledge of the art of war. To the right of Banks in West Virginia was another force commanded by the equally incapable Frémont, while far to his left on the Rappahannock lay that large corps of McDowell which the President had held in reserve. Jackson's method of warfare abounded in mystery and surprises. He had a wonderful genius for topography, and divined with lightning glance the use to which every mountain pass and every brook or river could be put. He never approached any point in the way that an ordinary mortal would have supposed to be natural, while he had trained his men to such celerity of movement that they were jocosely called "Jackson's foot cavalry." To Jackson's genius, inferiority of resources was but a slight drawback. He would attack an enemy outnumbering him two to one, and would still be sure to oppose two men to that enemy's one at any given point of contact. It was not surprising that such a commander soon sent Banks flying down the valley, thus creating a panic in Washington. The President was on the point of yielding to McClellan's entreaties and sending McDowell southward; but now he turned him in another direction, ordering both McDowell and Frémont to co-operate with Banks. Jackson, however, was far more than a match for the three, and after a profoundly interesting campaign, which is a model for all military students, he suddenly left the valley and swooped down before Richmond just as McClellan was revolving in his mind that change of base from White House to James River.

Jackson's arrival enabled Lee to employ to the utmost advantage his own daring policy. For his own brilliant conceptions, Lee needed a lieutenant of just such quick comprehension and unerring skill as Jackson. Lee now took the initiative with a boldness that indicated a justifiable contempt for McClellan. He sent more than half his army around McClellan's right wing to cut him off from White House, while the remainder of his army stayed before Richmond, confronted by an inert enemy outnumbering it four to one. On June 26 the Union right, under Fitz John Porter, was attacked at Mechanicsville. There, in an obsti-

nate fight, the first of the series known as the Seven Days' battles, Porter inflicted upon the enemy a discouraging repulse. McClellan ought now to have moved by his left straight upon Richmond; but instead, he withdrew Porter about five miles, to Gaines's Mill. Lee's audacity was thereby heightened, and the next day he attacked Porter with a force that outnumbered him three to one, and barely won a victory over that skillful and heroic commander. McClellan then decided to concentrate his whole force south of the Chickahominy, which was accomplished after five days of bloody fighting. On the last day McClellan took a strong position on Malvern Hill, where Lee, whose daring had now reached the point of rashness, assailed him and was repulsed with heavy slaughter. Once more McClellan should probably have retorted with a blow at Richmond, but he tamely withdrew his superior army to Harrison's Landing, thus impressing upon the whole campaign the seal of defeat and despair.

To understand the next step in this sequence of events, we must turn our attention to the West and observe what Halleck had lately been doing. Soon after the battle of Shiloh, that general went to Pittsburg Landing, where to the armies of Buell and Grant was presently added that of Pope, fresh from its victory at Island Number Ten. Halleck thus found himself at the head of 100,000 men, with whom early in May he started against Corinth, where Beauregard awaited him with an army of 50,000. The distance was twenty miles, but it took Halleck a month to accomplish it; and when he reached it he found nothing but empty works, for Beauregard had in mind plans far more ambitious than that of waiting quietly to be cooped up and captured.

The fall of Corinth, May 30, obliged the Confederates to abandon the whole Mississippi River above Memphis, and on June 6, after a naval battle in which the Confederate ships before that city were destroyed by Commodore Davis, Memphis surrendered. But one important Confederate point remained in that quarter, namely, Vicksburg; and now was the time for Halleck to co-operate with Davis and Farragut in the easy task of taking it. But Halleck waited until Vicksburg was fortified and variously guarded by the astute and energetic Van Dorn, until its capture became one of the most difficult things in the world.

Of scarcely less importance than Vicksburg was the mountain fastness of Chattanooga in the southeastern part of Tennessee, on the confines of Georgia. Halleck should have lost no time in seizing it, but between this prize and that of Vicksburg he fell as between two stools.

While he was mooning at Corinth, Beauregard was superseded by Braxton Bragg (Fig. 78), a great favorite with Jefferson Davis. Bragg at once took the retreating rebel army to Mobile, whence he sped by railway to Chattanooga and occupied it in force.

Meanwhile, Halleck's great army was scattered hither and thither in detachments severally too weak to accomplish any good result. At this juncture he was called to Washington to take command of the armies of the United States. The numerous and brilliant successes at the West were sharply contrasted with McClellan's unsatisfactory

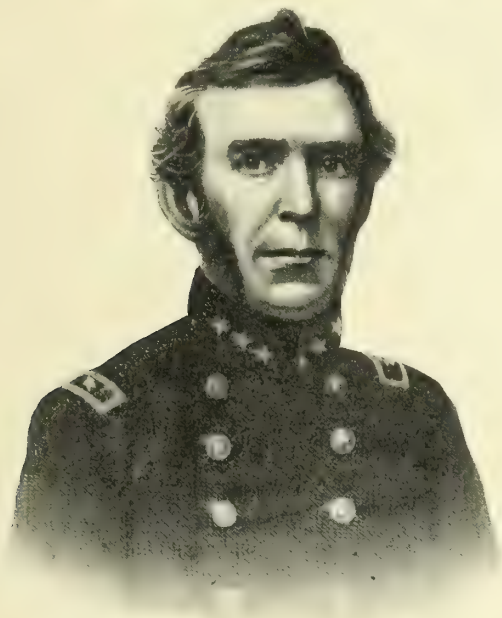


FIG. 78.—General Braxton Bragg, of the Confederate Army.

results in Virginia, and the credit for them was inconsiderately given to Halleck, while the imbecility with which his recent campaign had been conducted was not yet distinctly revealed by its fruits. Another western general who had won renown in excess of his merits was called to the East. This was John Pope, who was put in command of the forces lately scattered in the Shenandoah valley. Pope's first act on arriving in Virginia was a bombastic proclamation which made him an object of some ridicule.

If anything could have been more unfortunate for the Union cause than the career of the Army of the Potomac under McClellan, it was

the movement which McClellan was now compelled to take by his superior, Halleck. It appears that McClellan intended to cross the James River and operate against Lee by way of Petersburg, as Grant did afterward. Such a step was what Lee had most reason to dread, and what would best please him would be the withdrawal of McClellan from the neighborhood of Richmond entirely. This step was now taken by Halleck, who ordered that the Army of the Potomac be removed by sea to Acquia Creek. This movement practically withdrew 100,000 men from the field altogether for a period long enough to enable the dashing Lee and Jackson to make one of their characteristic campaigns. During the month of August they hurled themselves upon Pope and completely outwitted him, crowning the work at the end of the month with the second battle of Bull Run, a much greater and bloodier contest than the first one of that name. It was the most crushing defeat that the Union arms had experienced, and the popular excitement demanded a victim. The puzzle-headed Pope brought charges against Fitz John Porter for neglect of duty and remissness in the obedience of orders. Some of the facts, as imperfectly comprehended, seemed to support these charges; the popular mind leaped to the conclusion that Porter, as a friend of McClellan, had been guilty of the incredible baseness of intentionally contributing to the defeat of his rival. Accordingly, Porter was tried by a court-martial and dismissed from the army, of which he had been an illustrious ornament. After some lapse of time, doubts were expressed by eminent military critics as to Porter's guilt; and after some years the question was finally set at rest by the late John Codman Ropes, in his volume entitled "*The Army under Pope*," wherein Porter's innocence is completely demonstrated. It took a long time to get proper action taken in the matter, because people persisted in treating it as a party question; to believe Porter guilty was sound Republican doctrine, while to deny his guilt was the mark of a Democrat. Even after Grant, toward the close of his life, reviewed the evidence and pronounced Porter blameless, some time elapsed before the new court-martial was appointed which confirmed this judgment and restored the ill-used man to his place in the army.

After his great victory at Bull Run, Lee pushed northward into Maryland, creating a panic throughout the North. McClellan was still in command of the Army of the Potomac, and was immediately called by the President to defend the capital. All available forces were given him, so that he soon had more than 120,000 men at his disposal, and

the much-desired opportunity for appearing as the "saviour of the country" was afforded him; but his use of it was not skillful. The enemy's force was divided. As a bit of pastime by the way, Jackson had captured Harper's Ferry with its garrison of 11,000 men. Some days must elapse before he could effect a junction with Lee, and McClellan ought to have taken advantage of this interval to attack the latter; but he moved so slowly that one might almost have supposed he were waiting for all parties to keep tryst before making a trial of strength. Even when the whole Confederate army was concentrated on the Antietam Creek near Sharpsburg, Lee had less than half as many men as McClellan, but he showed his opinion of the latter by accepting battle under such conditions. In the battle of Antietam, September 17, 1862, more than 25,000 men were killed and wounded. McClellan showed poor tactics by putting in his divisions so slowly that one would be nearly exhausted before its successor relieved it. Instead of a few staggering blows, he made a succession of feeble raps, thus ensuring a maximum of bloodshed with a minimum of results. But at all events it was a Union victory, though a slight one, and was followed by Lee's withdrawal into Virginia. Thus it afforded President Lincoln the opportunity for taking decisive action in a matter which had long occupied his mind.

At the first outbreak of war, the abolitionist sentiment which demanded immediate interference with slavery was confined to a few people at the North. Most of the Northern people were by temperament law-abiding, and could see no other honorable way of opposing slavery than by putting a stop to its further expansion. It was customary for Republicans to resist with much warmth any insinuation that they were abolitionists, and we have seen President Lincoln rebuking General Frémont for attempting to interfere with slavery in Missouri. But a year of warfare had wrought great changes of feeling. As the obstinate nature of the colossal struggle came to be better understood, the feeling naturally grew that perhaps it would be just as well, now that we had gone so far, to go further and apply the axe to the root of the tree. This view commended itself more and more to the mind of President Lincoln. In the summer of 1862 it was one of his chief subjects of meditation; but with his usual tact, he deemed the moment of victory better than the moment of defeat for taking such a step. The battle of Antietam furnished such a moment; and five days afterward, while the sense of deliverance from danger was still fresh and keen, he issued his preliminary proclamation looking toward emancipation.

This document announced that on the first day of January following he should proclaim the slaves of all persons still engaged in armed rebellion against the United States to be thenceforth and forever free, and he called upon his military commanders to carry this proclamation into effect. At the same time, he recommended to the loyal governments of the border states to co-operate with the United States government in measures intended to secure the deliverance of slaves with compensation to their owners.

A few days afterward this preliminary proclamation was criticised in a very able pamphlet entitled "*Executive Power*," by Benjamin Robbins Curtis, one of the greatest jurists that America has produced. It was easy for Curtis to show that the Constitution afforded no authority for the President's act. Nevertheless, there was a broad principle of military law that allowed it, as had long ago been stated in Congress by Quincy Adams in a speech that was truly prophetic. If the Confederate states were entitled to the rights of belligerents, as was generally admitted, they were also subject to the liabilities of belligerents. A good rule must work both ways, and clearly the commander of the army of a belligerent power has the right to confiscate the property of the enemy if he judges that any military advantage is to be gained thereby. President Lincoln's proclamation was issued in his constitutional capacity as commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the United States. It was a military measure which could be carried into effect as fast as the Union armies took possession of the Southern country; and it certainly weakened the Confederacy, for, to say nothing of minor matters, it practically cut off from it the possibility of any aid from England or France, since neither of those powers could enter the field against a government whose avowed object was to be accomplished through the abolition of negro slavery. Thus, from every point of view, the Emancipation Proclamation stamps Lincoln as one of the greatest of statesmen.

We must now turn our attention for a moment to the Western theatre of war, where Bragg late in August moved rapidly northward in emulation of Lee. Starting out from Chattanooga and slipping past Buell's left, he made straight toward Louisville, while by a concerted movement Kirby Smith entered Kentucky by way of Cumberland Gap and inflicted a sharp defeat upon the Union forces opposed to him at Richmond. Great dismay was felt in Cincinnati and Louisville; but in point of fact, Bragg found it impossible to maintain himself so far from his base, and presently retreated upon Murfreesboro after a bloody but

indecisive fight with Buell's army at Perryville on the 8th of October. While these things were going on, Van Dorn advanced against Grant, who, since Halleck's departure, was in command at Corinth. Van Dorn hoped to drive Grant down the Tennessee River; but in two battles at Iuka, September 19, and at Corinth, October 4, Van Dorn was at first checked and then murderously defeated by a portion of Grant's army under Rosecrans. One result of this campaign was to transfer Rosecrans to a more exalted position. Buell, though a very able general, had won the ill-will of Governor Morton, of Indiana, and of Andrew Johnson, military governor in Eastern Tennessee. Accord-



FIG. 79.—Major-General Philip Sheridan.

ingly, soon after the battles just mentioned, Buell was relieved of command and Rosecrans was put in his place. On the other hand, Jefferson Davis put John Pemberton in command of the rebel army in Mississippi, and relegated Van Dorn to a subordinate place. Buell had been charged with slowness, but nearly two months elapsed before Rosecrans brought Bragg to battle at Stone River near Murfreesboro. The battle fought there on the last day of December vied in bloodiness with Shiloh and Antietam. Each army numbered about 40,000 men. Each commander entertained the same purpose—to pivot on his right, and wheel against the enemy's left flank; but Bragg's position was the better suited to effect his purpose. The right wing of the Union army

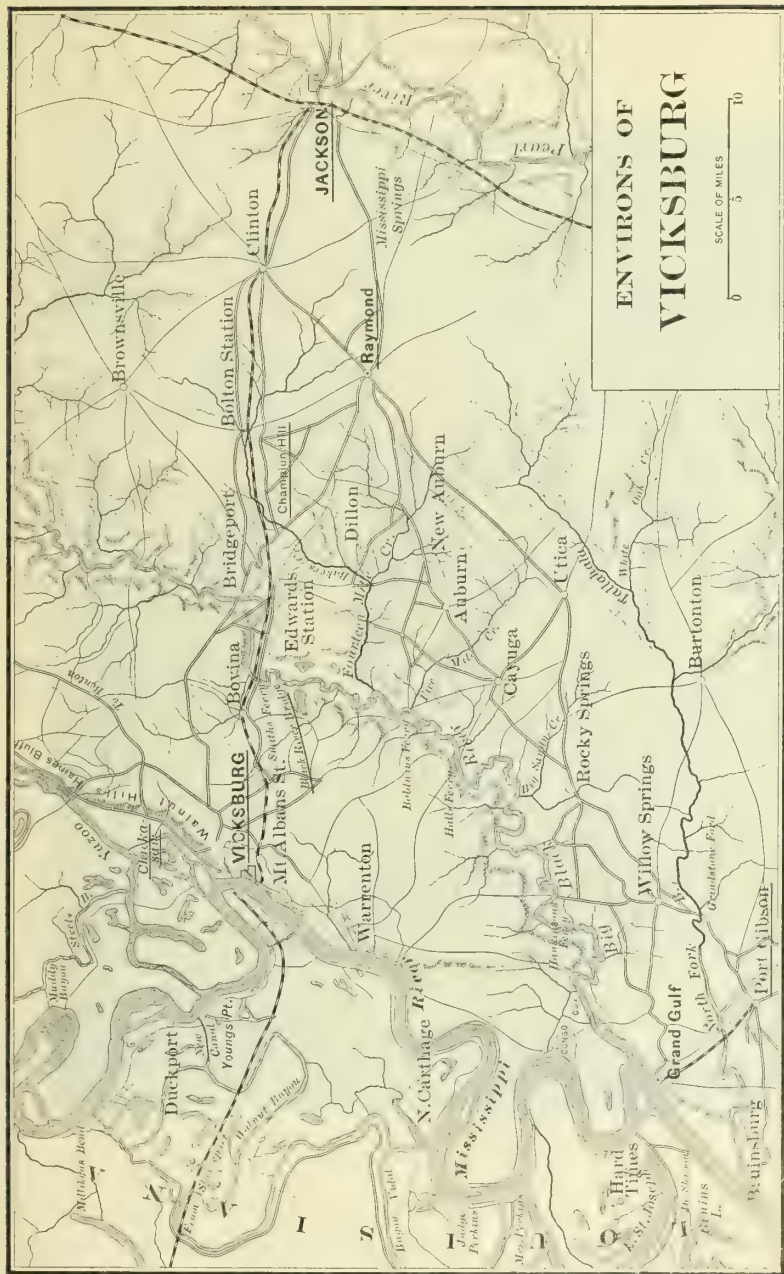
was very badly placed by its commander, and Rosecrans neglected to repair the error, an oversight which cost him dear. The battle began with a rout of two Union divisions, which threw the entire army upon the defensive; but the last division of the right wing was saved by its young commander, Philip Sheridan (Fig. 79), and the centre was held firmly in position by the invincible Thomas until the enemy's plan was frustrated. It was almost a drawn battle as it stood; but when Rosecrans advanced, two days later, Bragg retreated after a brief resistance. More than 20,000 men were killed or wounded in this battle.

During those two months of November and December, Grant was making his first movement against Vicksburg (PLATE VII.), along the line of the Mississippi Central Railway; but Van Dorn cut his lengthening line of communications, and he was obliged to retreat. At the same time an attempt made by William Tecumseh Sherman, landing from the Mississippi River, to storm the works at Haines's Bluff, an outwork of Vicksburg, met with a bloody repulse.

In Virginia, as usual, the Union arms fared worse than anywhere else. McClellan was apt to make good plans, though his execution of them was so feeble; and now he was following Lee southward by a well-chosen route near the eastern slopes of the Blue Ridge, when, early in November, President Lincoln relieved him from command and put in his place Ambrose Burnside. It was not strange that McClellan should have been removed; but it was strange that Burnside should have been appointed to such a place, because his record had not shown eminent ability, and, in particular, at Antietam his management of his division had been weak and unskillful. His first step as commanding general was in itself disastrous: he moved the army to Fredericksburg, thus throwing away the advantages at which McClellan had been aiming, in order to try an experiment of his own. A chill December day soon witnessed the trying of that experiment, one of the most dangerous that an army can try. At Fredericksburg the Union army was hurled against impregnable intrenchments until 13,000 men were uselessly sacrificed. This was more than men's patience could endure, and shortly afterward the command was taken from Burnside and given to Joseph Hooker, of Massachusetts, who had at least one recommendation, in that he had shown himself a gallant fighter. "Fighting Joe," indeed, was the sobriquet by which he was commonly known.

Thus the year 1863 seemed to open with evil augury for the North. To some persons it might well have seemed that heaven did not smile upon the great Emancipation Proclamation which Lincoln, true to his

PLATE VIII.



Map of the Vicksburg Campaign.

promise, put forth on New Year's Day. It was a moment of defeat on the Mississippi, of doubt in Tennessee, and of dire disaster in Virginia. Yet a lower depth even than Fredericksburg was still to be sounded, and Fighting Joe was to prove as great a failure as any of his predecessors.



FIG. 80.—Lee and Stonewall Jackson at Chancellorsville. (From an engraving by Halpin after a painting by Julio. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

His army spent the winter near Fredericksburg, and at the beginning of May it crossed the river on one of the fords near Chancellorsville and advanced upon the enemy. In the battle that ensued (Fig. 80), Lee could oppose only 50,000 men to Hooker's 120,000, yet he inflicted upon him the severest defeat experienced by any Union army during

the war. His first aggressive movement consisted of a magnificent flank march by Stonewall Jackson, which toward nightfall brought him like a whirlwind upon the Union right wing. That gallant body of men was instantly routed, and extraordinary exertions were required to prevent the ruin from spreading through the whole army. But that splendid feat of arms was Jackson's last. He was shot in the twilight—as some think, accidentally by his own men—and received a wound of which he presently died. His death was a loss to the Confederacy



Geo. G. Meade

FIG. 81.—Major-General George Gordon Meade. (After an engraving by J. C. Buttre.)

great enough to offset many victories. After this bad beginning, Hooker completely lost his head, until Lee with 16,000 men held 80,000 Union troops in idleness, while with the rest of his army he drove the Union left back across the river, winning as much glory as any general of modern times.

Lee now made up his mind to repeat on a grander scale his experiment of the preceding year. He coolly marched past Hooker's right, and held his course steadily northward through Maryland and into

Pennsylvania, threatening in flank not only Baltimore, but Philadelphia. This was done in great part for dramatic effect, which in warfare is sometimes as legitimate a weapon as any other. Lee well knew that he could hardly expect to stay long in Pennsylvania; but if he could there inflict a crushing defeat upon the Union army, he might expect either that the United States government would weaken in its purpose, or else that European governments might venture to interfere.

The great Confederate general, however, no longer had a Hooker to deal with. The command of the Army of the Potomac had been taken from that person and given to George Gordon Meade (Fig. 81), who re-



FIG. 82.—Major-General John Reynolds. (From a mezzotint by Max Rosenthal. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

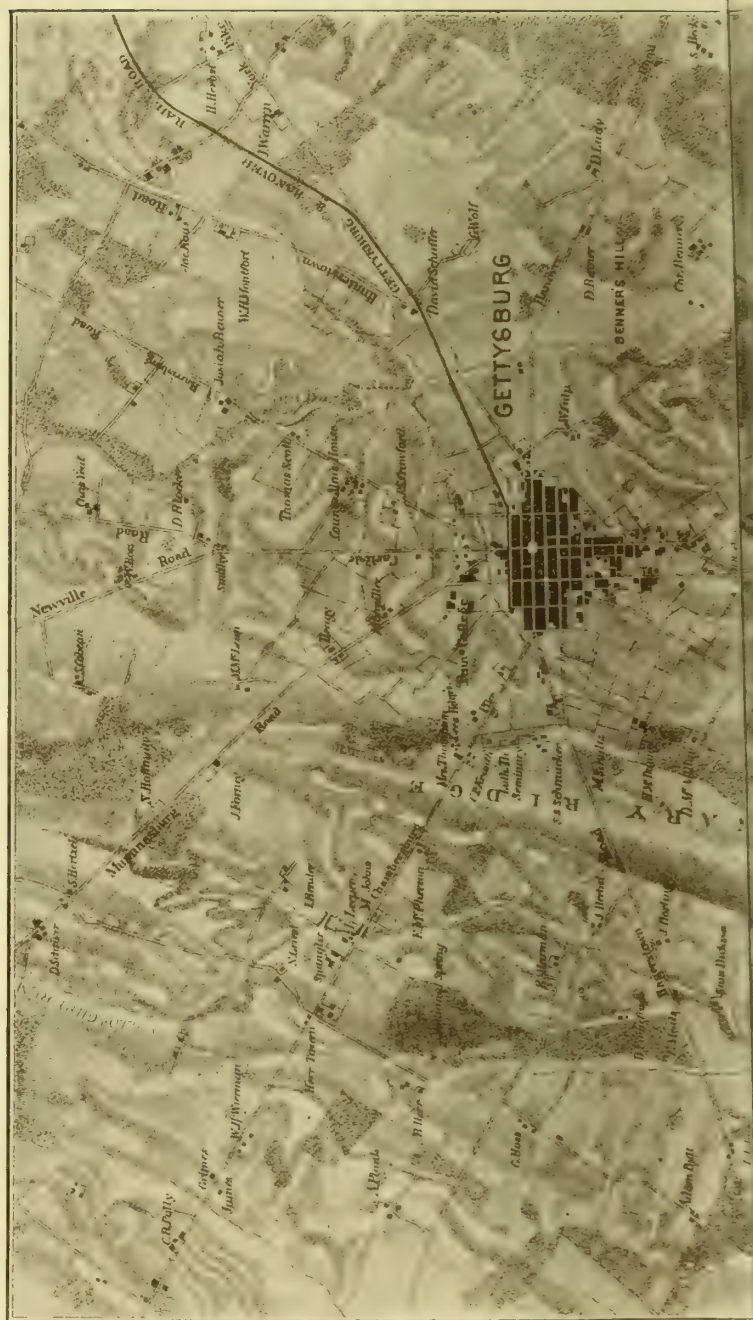
mained in command until the end of the war. Without being a great genius, Meade was a thoroughly sound and sagacious soldier, a man of far higher grade than any of the other commanders of that eastern army. No more Fredericksburgs or Chancellorsvilles were liable to happen under his prudent leadership. It was not long before Lee was called upon to try conclusions with his new antagonist. On the first day of July, while the two armies were feeling their way toward one another, a skirmish was brought on by some cavalry detachments just north of the little town of Gettysburg; and as reinforcements kept coming up, first on one side and then on the other, the affair soon grew into a fierce battle, in which one of the Union commanders, General Reynolds (Fig. 82), was killed,

and the Union army was driven southward through the town of Gettysburg and beyond. At this period, nightfall put a stop to the fighting.

A little to the south of Gettysburg, the retreating Union army came in sight of a position the excellence of which was at once discerned by practised eyes (PLATE IX.). It was a low ridge of hills running nearly north and south, convex toward the west, and with the northern end refused in the shape of a fish-hook. On Meade's arrival with the bulk of the army, he recognized it as an ideal situation for a defensive battle, and along that ridge the Union army was strongly posted. As the Confederate army arrived somewhat later, it took position on a parallel ridge to the west; its name was Seminary Ridge, while that occupied by the Union army bore the sombre name of Cemetery Ridge. The battle on July 2 (PLATE X.) was one of unprecedented fury. Near the left of the Union line, the division of Daniel Sickles had been thrown forward as a salient, and upon this the opposing rebels under James Longstreet (Fig. 83) exerted their strength until they had beaten it back. While this was going on, it was discovered that the Union troops had neglected two eminences on the left, called Round Top and Little Round Top, the possession of which by the enemy would enfilade their lines and take them in reverse. Frantic efforts were made on both sides to gain these eminences, but the Union army prevailed and obtained secure possession. At the northern end of the Union line, the Confederates, under Richard Ewell, attacked with magnificent pluck and resource, so that by nightfall they had actually taken the barb of the fish-hook and stood there as a most unwelcome and ominous prolongation of the Union line. The situation here was perilous; but the excellence of the Union position was well shown early next morning, the morning of the third day of this stupendous battle (PLATE XI.). Meade had the great advantage of interior lines; and early in the morning, summoning all available strength against Ewell, he wrested from him his hard-won advantage and drove him down the hillside much the worse for wear.

One more expedient still remained for Lee to try. He had failed at both the Union wings, but perhaps he might break through their centre. The attempt was made in that immortal charge led by George Pickett, of Alabama, the glorious valor of which must thrill with pride the heart of every true American, whether his home and associations be north or south of Mason and Dixon's line. On that day, Pickett well earned the proud sobriquet of "the Noy of the rebel army." But all this display of valor was in vain. The Union centre stood like a rock; Pickett's men were obliged to retire, leaving a huge space covered with

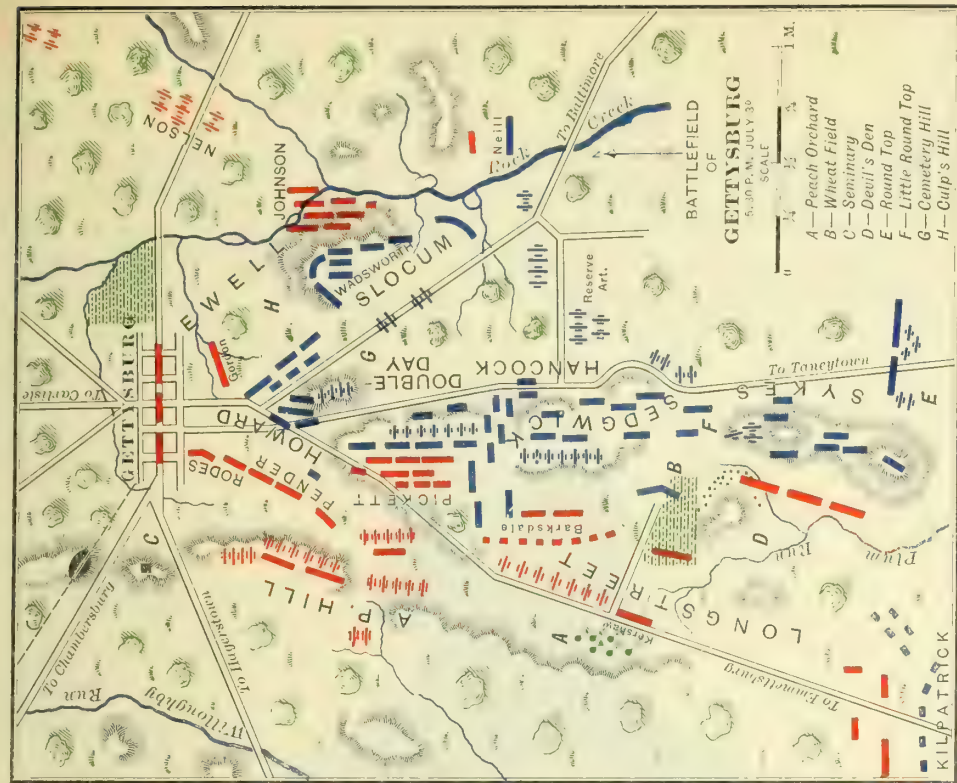
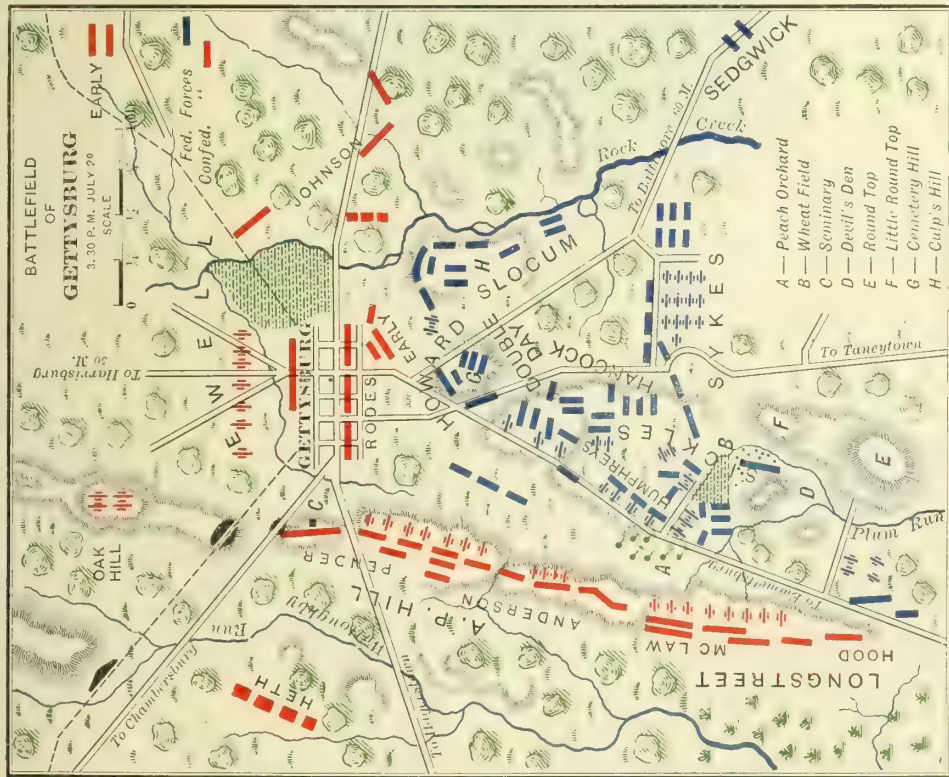
PLATE IX.





Plan of Gettysburg and Vicinity.

History of All Nations, Vol. XXIII., page 155.



Maps of the Battle of Gettysburg, July 2 and 3, 1863.

dead and wounded ; and Lee's last hope was gone. It has been thought by some critics that Meade then made a mistake. He still had one fresh corps in reserve ; and it has been thought that if he had at once thrown it into the fight, he might have completed Lee's discomfiture and driven him from the field. Possibly ; but if such an attack had incurred the fate of Pickett's, the tables would have been reversed and



James Longstreet
Lt Gen

FIG. 83.—Lieutenant-General James Longstreet, of the Confederate Army.

the Union army would have come off discomfited. Lee's position was very strong for defence ; the risk was great ; and Meade preferred to rest content with the victory as it stood. As already observed, he was a safe and prudent commander.

The forces engaged at Gettysburg numbered more than 170,000 ; and the losses, which were nearly equal on the two sides, amounted to about 50,000 in killed and wounded. It is to be ranked, therefore,

with Borodino and Waterloo, among the greatest battles of modern times. One sometimes hears it referred to as "the Waterloo of the Southern Confederacy," but such an expression is ridiculous. The French army at Waterloo was completely routed, and fled from the field as a disorganized mob. On the other hand, the Confederates at Gettysburg simply fell short of victory. Their defeat was undeniable, but it was as slight as an undeniable defeat could well be. Nevertheless, it is quite right to say that the battle of Gettysburg marked the turning-point in the civil war. Never again did the hopes of the Confederacy rise to as high a level as in June, 1863.

It was, however, not merely the battle of Gettysburg that marked the turning-point. The anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, during the first fresh excitement over the news from Pennsylvania, brought also the tidings of the fall of Vicksburg. It will be remembered that the beginning of the year 1863 witnessed the repulse of Sherman before Haines's Bluff and the total failure of Grant's first movement against the great stronghold. His second attempt began at once. He moved his army down the Mississippi River and took position on its western bank, at one of its mighty curves known as Milliken's Bend. The problem before him was one of enormous difficulty. The city stood on a bluff at the junction of the Yazoo with the Mississippi, too high to be assailed successfully by a fleet, while to an army it was almost inaccessible. The batteries at Haines's Bluff prevented any hostile force from landing to the north of the city, while any army that should land to the south would at once be confronted with risk of starvation; its base would necessarily be on the river, so that any supplies approaching from above would be liable to be destroyed by the guns of Vicksburg, while, on the other hand, the approach from below was obstructed by the powerful forces at Port Hudson, 250 miles down stream. The most cautious method of dealing with the problem would have been to take Port Hudson first, and then proceed up stream toward the other stronghold. In point of fact, the two places were attacked simultaneously; the operations of Grant at Vicksburg were assisted by those of a smaller army in Louisiana, commanded by Banks, whose movements were somewhat impeded by the activity of a Confederate force under Richard Taylor, son of the general whom the Mexican war had made President of the United States.

The country beyond the Mississippi to the westward and southerly from Vicksburg was little better than a swamp, liable in many places to be overflowed, and intersected by hundreds of crooked and sluggish

bayous, on the banks of which grew an almost impenetrable tangle of semi-tropical vegetation. Danger lurked everywhere in those deep and dark recesses of primitive forest. The country to the north between the Mississippi and the Yazoo was precisely similar. These lowlands were part of the wet and treacherous basin which the Mississippi had for ages carved for itself with its grotesque windings and its sudden and violent changes of its courses. For example, the lower part of the Yazoo itself, with some of its tributaries, was simply a remnant of the Mississippi, which at a recent date had taken another direction, leaving between its new and old course a vast ellipse of creek and swamp nearly 200 miles in length by 50 or so in width. (Cf. PLATE VIII.)

Grant spent the winter and early spring in attempts to find some practicable avenue, either for troops to land to the north of Haines's Bluff, or for transports to convey provisions from the north to the south of Vicksburg without coming within range of its guns. The amount of labor devoted to these purposes was gigantic, the dangers incurred were often new and strange, and picturesque incidents abounded, as when it was attempted by breaking a levee to drown a fortress a hundred miles distant, or when a squadron of gunboats steamed through narrow and winding creeks where overarching trees would brush away their smoke-stacks. At last, when all seemed desperate, Grant conceived a plan and suggested it to his generals. It was unanimously condemned, whereupon Grant proceeded to try it on his own responsibility. On a dark night in the middle of April, Admiral Porter's fleet ran down past the Vicksburg batteries. Grant moved his army down the western bank to a point about twenty-five miles below the city, where he crossed, and, by taking the important outwork at Grand Gulf in flank, compelled the enemy to abandon it. There he established a precarious base of supplies, but only for the sake of appearances. Rising superior to all military rules, he abandoned his base, and, trusting in such supplies as his men could carry in their knapsacks or pick up on the road, he marched straight upon the city of Jackson, where that able general, Joseph Johnston, had a considerable force, on the way to relieve Vicksburg. When Grant made this eastward movement, Pemberton very naturally marched against his line of communications, never dreaming that Grant himself had abandoned it. This subtle strategy kept Pemberton on a wild-goose chase until Grant had effectually disposed of Johnston; then suddenly turning westward, Grant inflicted two severe defeats upon Pemberton and drove him back into Vicksburg, while at the same time he took Haines's Bluff in flank and compelled the enemy to leave it.

Thus the problem was solved by one of the most wonderful campaigns recorded in history. In eighteen days, without any visible means of support, Grant had won five decisive battles against two armies and had reached a point where nothing could prevent his taking Vicksburg except an attack in his rear. It was something like the leap of an acrobat on the flying trapeze. There was a possibility that Johnston might so far recover himself as to attack the Union army from behind; and Grant therefore hastened to take Vicksburg by storm, but two unsuccessful and bloody assaults proved this to be impossible. He then laid siege to the place, and in a few weeks starved it into submission. The place surrendered on the 3d of July, and with it Grant captured an army of more than 30,000 men. This great achievement placed him indisputably foremost in favor among the Union generals. He had been a major-general of volunteers; he was now appointed to that high rank in the regular army.

Port Hudson, like the greater stronghold, repelled two fierce assaults; but on hearing of the fall of Vicksburg, it was clear that further resistance was hopeless, and it was surrendered to General Banks. Thus the entire length of the Mississippi River was recovered for the Union, and the states of Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas were severed from the Confederacy. The next step in advance was to be the reduction of Chattanooga.

We left Rosecrans and Bragg at the beginning of the year on the morrow of a tremendous battle, in which the advantage was slightly with the former. Nothing more was done for eight months, except for cavalry raids, which were incessant and destructive, and in which the Confederates in general came off better than the Federals. Among the rebel troopers who acquired fame in this sort of warfare may be mentioned Nathan Forrest, Basil Duke, and Joseph Wheeler.

Early in September, Rosecrans took the initiative, and in a series of skillful manoeuvres compelled Bragg to fall back from Tullahoma into Chattanooga. He then crossed the Tennessee River below that town and advanced through the passes of the long mountain ridges that stretch in nearly parallel lines to the southward. This movement threatened Bragg's base of supplies at Dalton in Georgia, and compelled him to evacuate Chattanooga, which was forthwith occupied by the left wing of the Union army. But in manoeuvring in this difficult mountain country, Rosecrans unduly extended his lines until all at once he discovered that Bragg had 50,000 men within striking distance of the Union centre under Thomas, which comprised not more than 20,000

and was isolated by mountainous country from its two wings. Here was Bragg's opportunity for crushing his antagonist; but Bragg, though a good general, was no Stonewall Jackson. He hesitated and fumbled until the golden moment had vanished. Rosecrans succeeded in concentrating his forces in the valley of Chickamauga. He had nothing to gain by fighting there, but with Bragg it was otherwise. He had just been heavily reinforced by Longstreet from Virginia, so that his army outnumbered the Federals; and he hastened to force a battle upon Rosecrans, in the hope of cutting off his retreat through the gaps in Missionary Ridge and thus achieving his ruin. Thus was brought on the dreadful battle of Chickamauga, September 19 and 20, 1863. The first day was indecisive. About noon of the second day, by a curious misunderstanding of orders, a gap was left in the Union line near the junction of the centre with the right wing. Into this gap Longstreet threw no less than six divisions heavily massed, thus taking both the Union centre and the Union right wing in flank. In a few minutes all that part of the Union army was converted into a fugitive mob, but the extremity of disaster was averted by almost incredible fighting on the part of Thomas, who commanded the left wing. He retired to an eminence which commanded the principal gap in Missionary Ridge, and there with 25,000 men sustained during six hours the onset of 60,000 Confederates, remaining at nightfall master of the position, with one-third of his force lying dead or wounded. From that time forth the noble general was called "the Rock of Chickamauga." But for him, the battle would have been a Waterloo for Rosecrans; as it was, the Confederates could claim only that slight meed of victory which was peculiarly characteristic of this American war.

The Federal army retired into Chattanooga; and Bragg, following it, secured the summit of Lookout Mountain and encamped his army along the crest of Missionary Ridge, thus holding the Union army invested in a semicircle. The only avenue for the Federal supplies was a long and difficult wagon-road over a spur of the Cumberland Mountains. The supply trains were attacked by Wheeler's cavalry, and then heavy rains made the road nearly impassable. Chattanooga was threatened with the extremities of famine. Nearly all the horses perished, and there seemed little hope save in surrender, when all at once the tables were turned.

In October, Grant was appointed to command all the forces west of the Alleghanies, while Sherman succeeded him as commander of the Army of the Tennessee. Rosecrans was removed from the command

of the Army of the Cumberland, and Thomas succeeded him. Two corps, numbering 23,000 men, were detached from the Army of the Potomac and sent by rail through Ohio and Kentucky for the relief of Chattanooga. They were commanded by Joseph Hooker. Before Grant's arrival at Chattanooga, a scheme for opening a line of supply through Lookout valley was conceived by William Farrar Smith—commonly known by the soldiers as "Baldy Smith"—and after Grant's arrival the scheme was carried out under Smith's personal direction. Presently Sherman brought up his army from Vicksburg. On the other hand, Bragg in an overconfident moment had needlessly weakened his force by sending Longstreet to Knoxville in the Tennessee mountains to conduct a campaign against Burnside. The great battle of Chattanooga, November 24 and 25, was one of the most brilliant and interesting of the war (PLATE XII.). Among its most stirring incidents were the storming of Lookout Mountain by Hooker and the charge of Thomas's men up Missionary Ridge, whereby they crushed Bragg's centre. His army was totally defeated and driven from the field, leaving 6000 prisoners and 40 pieces of artillery in Grant's hands. After this glorious victory, Congress revived the grade of lieutenant-general and appointed Grant to fill it (PLATE XIII.). He was thus made to outrank Halleck; and coming to Washington, he was placed in command of all the forces of the United States. Before describing his next military operations, we must pause to mention a few further incidents of the year 1863.

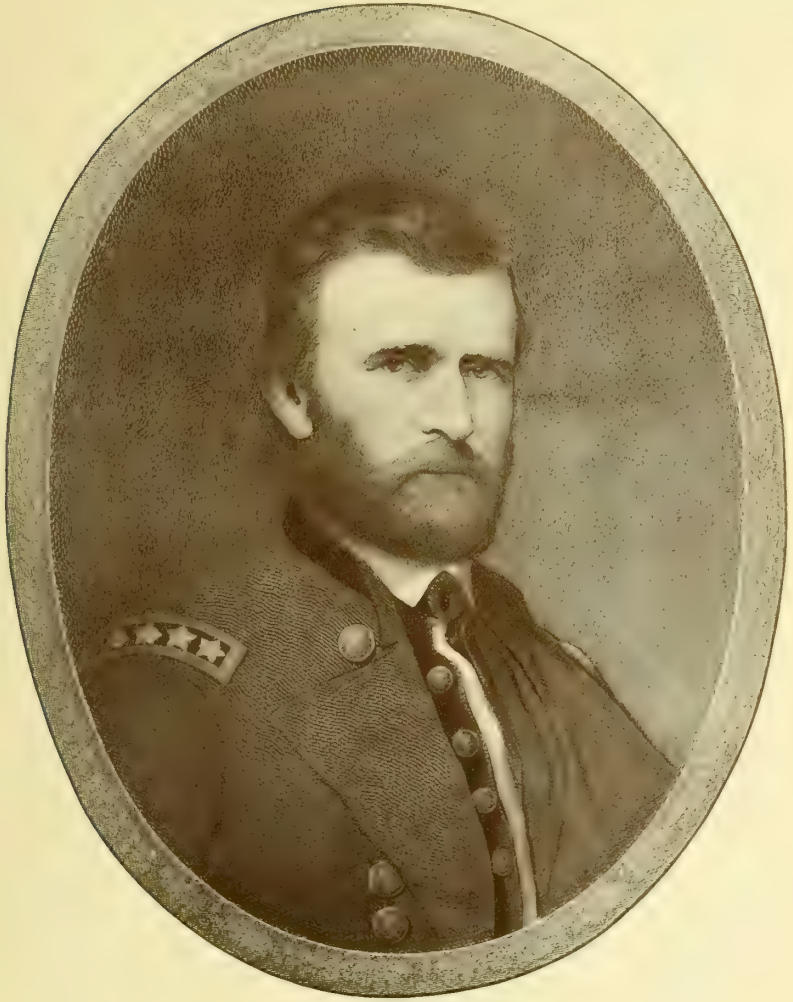
Among our foreign relations, by far the most important were those with Great Britain. There, as we have observed, the feeling of the upper classes was in general unfriendly to the United States, chiefly because of their dread of the growing democratic tendencies in England. It was also true that many of the most intelligent Englishmen found it difficult to understand the precise nature of the issue for which we were fighting. Our statement at the outset that we were not fighting for the abolition of slavery was calculated to make philanthropic Englishmen misjudge us; and as regards "fighting for the Union," they were inclined to ask themselves why they should be expected to feel an interest in the Union. In the preface to his book on Federal Government, published in 1862, the great historian, Freeman, discusses the American question in a spirit entirely friendly to the United States, and yet cannot understand why we should be so unwilling to have the Union broken up. Among the leading statesmen, John Bright was the only one who stood by the United States through thick and thin. Among the foremost writers and thinkers who manifested the same friendly feeling, we may



Battle of Chattanooga.

From a colored lithograph by Thulstrup. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.
History of All Nations, Vol. XXIII, page 174.

PLATE XIII.



Lieutenant-General Ulysses Simpson Grant.

From an unlettered proof by Marshall. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq.,
Philadelphia.

make special mention of John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, and the eminent economist, Professor Cairnes. The middle and lower classes, the great bulk of the English people, sympathized with us more or less cordially, but the merchants of Liverpool and other wealthy seaports were willing to make money out of the American troubles. It was not strange, then, that cruisers should be built and launched for the use of Confederate sailors. Neither was it strange that Palmerston's cabinet should have begun by conniving at the escape of such cruisers on their hostile errand. It was, nevertheless, a gross breach of neutrality, which aroused just indignation in America. The most famous and probably the most destructive of these cruisers was the *Alabama*, whose career began in 1862. Under the command of Raphael Semmes, this swift vessel roamed the seas for two years, inflicting great damage upon American commerce, although far less than Congress was at the same time inflicting upon it by its tariff and navigation laws.

The effect of Lincoln's proclamation of emancipation was at once and most notably to quicken the sympathies of the English people in favor of the Union. Many persons in England changed sides; some of the most ardent apologists for the South at once began to defend the North. Immense crowds of people gathered in Exeter Hall and other such places and loudly expressed their good-will toward the United States. Even among the aristocracy, it became easier to understand the position of the United States. As for English statesmen, as already observed, it became impossible for them to advocate interfering in behalf of the South. Another circumstance which had great weight was the change of fortunes which visibly attended military operations in the second half of 1863. An instance was furnished by the case of the cruiser *Alexandra*, which was launched at Liverpool in the spring of that year. Our minister, Charles Francis Adams, complained, and the case was tried in the Court of Exchequer in June; thence it was carried up to the House of Lords; and meanwhile, two rams were building, which were obviously intended for the Confederate service. In September, Earl Russell informed Mr. Adams that there was no legal method by which he could detain these vessels. Our minister's reply was brief and ominous: "It would be quite superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." The news of Gettysburg and Vicksburg had arrived in London, and a few days later Adams was informed that the vessels would be detained. In the following April the British government warned the Confederacy against making further attempts to solicit aid from English shipbuilders.

The year 1863 saw a marked increase in the stringency of the blockade, all the way from the Potomac to the Rio Grande. Early in the war the Federal navy had captured Port Royal, Roanoke Island, and New Berne, and to these were added in the course of this year the capture of Fort Wagner, with the destruction of Fort Sumter, thus giving to the United States the entire control of Charleston harbor, where the war had first broken out.

Military operations on so great a scale made heavy demands upon human life, and the armies frequently needed recruiting. Half a million volunteers had come forward from the Northern states, but it had nevertheless been necessary to resort to conscription. That is a device to which the English race has never taken kindly, and in America much dissatisfaction was felt and expressed, not only with the act of conscription itself, but especially with the provision which allowed any drafted person to hire a substitute to serve in his place. This gave great offence in some quarters, as a discrimination in favor of the men who could afford to pay money for such purposes. The usual price of a substitute was three hundred dollars. Early in July, 1863, the enforcement of the draft in some Northern cities was the occasion of riots, especially in the city of New York, where matters came to a fearful pass. During the recent weeks of despondency, while Lee was in Pennsylvania and Grant had not yet taken Vicksburg, a feeling had doubtless gained ground among the lower classes that the war was simply a useless waste of life, and that this conscription, which could only be evaded by the payment of what a poor man would regard as a large sum of money, was an outrage that ought not to be endured. Among the Irish laboring population of New York it was commonly said that this war was all for the sake of the negro, and this feeling was appealed to by Copperhead speakers with only too much success. The resistance to the draft quickly developed into a shameful riot. For several days the city of New York was in possession of a mob of ruffians who sacked shops and dwelling-houses, hanged unoffending negroes to lamp-posts, and otherwise comported themselves like imps let loose from below. Most savage threats were uttered against abolitionists; and one of these, the noble John Jay, grandson of the great Chief Justice, was obliged to fly for his life. Horatio Seymour (Fig. 84), then governor of the state, a man of rare accomplishments and exquisite courtesy, was a Peace Democrat, opposed on conscientious grounds to the war; and a speech which he made to a body of rioters, addressing them with his usual politeness as "my friends," was afterward often quoted against

him. For the final suppression of the riot it became necessary to recall a few regiments from the seat of war.

We may now proceed with our narrative of the spring campaigns of 1864. After Grant's appointment as general-in-chief of all the armies, Sherman was appointed to the chief command west of the Alleghanies; the command of the Army of the Tennessee devolved upon James McPherson, a young general of most brilliant promise; Thomas remained in command of the Army of the Cumberland; and to these



Horatio Seymour

FIG. 84.—Horatio Seymour.

forces there was added the corps of 20,000 men which Burnside had commanded at Knoxville, but that incapable general was now replaced by one of the ablest in the service, John Schofield. Nevertheless, for some unaccountable reason, doubtless political, a place was still kept for Burnside. The operations against Lee's army and Richmond were personally superintended by Grant, who wisely retained Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac, but added thereto the Ninth Corps as an independent force, with Burnside at its head. With these forces,

Grant decided upon the overland route from the Rapidan River to Richmond. A smaller force was at the same time to ascend the James; and the command of this detachment was given to another incompetent, the Thersites of the war, the Massachusetts lawyer, Butler. Lincoln and Grant presently had reason to regret both of these appointments.

The forces of Meade and Burnside numbered nearly 130,000. They were confronted by Lee, who had less than half that number; for the Confederacy had long before been compelled to resort to conscription, and was now fast nearing the end of its resources in men and money, and it was no longer possible to oppose to the Northern armies anything like a parity of force. But what Lee lacked in numbers was largely compensated by his genius and by the excellent qualities of his lieutenants—Longstreet, Ewell, David Hill, Ambrose Hill, Stuart, and Jubal Early. On the 4th of May, Grant crossed the Rapidan and fought two giant battles in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania. In neither of these did his superior numbers win what could properly be called a victory, but after each battle he was enabled to extend his left wing so as to threaten Lee's flank and force him to retire. After Spottsylvania, Lee fell back upon the North Anna River, where he chose a position with such consummate genius that merely to look at a map of it is enough to make one thrill with delight. Grant saw that fighting there was useless, but once more his superiority in numbers enabled him to outflank his enemy. The next time, Grant was not so wise. Lee retired from Cold Harbor and posted himself in such wise that Grant ought not to have attacked him; but the latter general was losing patience, and felt that, if sufficient effort were made, the position might be carried. The result was the battle of Cold Harbor, a name which the historian cannot write without a shudder. In little more than an hour, 13,000 of the Union army were laid low, and Grant saw that he had been attempting the impossible. One is glad to be able to add that in his *Memoirs*, written upon his death-bed, he confesses with manly candor that he was to blame for this terrible affair. This fight was in one sense decisive. In one of his despatches at the beginning of this campaign, there occurred the famous declaration, "I propose to fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," but his repulse at Cold Harbor convinced him that he must choose another line, although June had only begun. Within thirty days Grant had lost more than 60,000 men, a larger number than that of Lee's entire army at the outset. Lee's losses have never been accurately ascertained, but in all probability were somewhere between 15,000 and 20,000. For the first time, Grant had met more than his match.

He had clearly been outgeneralled from the start, yet there was nothing particularly discreditable in failing to cope successfully with Lee.

It had been part of Grant's plan that Butler should advance up the James River and threaten the southern communications of Richmond; but Butler was opposed by Beauregard, who quickly inflicted upon him a complete stalemate, putting him into a position where his army was as useless as it would have been in Kamtchatka, yet from which he could not withdraw it without inviting destruction. This fiasco, together with his own failure to crush Lee, made Grant decide to do for himself what had been expected of Butler. He made the movement which McClellan had wished to make two years before, when Halleck overruled him. In other words, he crossed the James River and marched upon Petersburg, the speedy capture of which would have hastened the fall of Richmond. Beauregard, however, was quick to divine and anticipate the movement; and before the Union troops had arrived in force, Petersburg was already occupied by the Confederates. A series of indecisive skirmishes for the possession of the place was ended July 30 by a useless slaughter. To Burnside was entrusted the task of building and utilizing an enormous mine under the centre of the Confederate works before the city. The mine was duly built. It was more than 500 feet long, with eight chambers, each of which contained more than a ton of gunpowder. Burnside was to spring this mine, and during the first moments of confusion to hurl his corps upon the enemy. The explosion was terrific and completely shattered the works above the mine, but it left a crater of unexpected shape and dimensions which sadly disarranged the plans for the Union attack. In the irregular fighting which ensued, the advantage was on the side of the Confederates, and at last the Union troops were driven from the scene with a loss of nearly 4000. The loss of the Confederates was probably much less. After this crowning failure, which was partly due to ill fortune, Burnside's military career came to an end and his command was given to John Parke. Grant was thoroughly weary of so much waste of human life, and for several months contented himself with holding Lee in check at Petersburg until the problem should become simplified by the progress of the Union armies in other directions.

In this summer, as in that of 1862, the Shenandoah valley became the scene of brilliant and romantic campaigning, but this time it was a Union general who achieved undying fame. The command of the principal Union force in that valley was held first by Sigel, and then by Hunter; but these generals were no match for the Confederate com-

mander, Jubal Early, who at one time crossed the Potomac at Harper's Ferry and marched to the very outskirts of Washington, creating a mighty panic not only in that city, but all over the North. On another occasion he crossed the state of Maryland into Pennsylvania, and burned the village of Chambersburg. Presently Grant appointed Philip Sheridan to the chief command in the valley. This young commander had been chiefly known as a brilliant cavalry officer, but Grant had already perceived that he was surpassingly qualified for command in all branches of the service. Perhaps no general on the Northern side had a more comprehensive and well-rounded military genius. In a series of well-planned battles at Winchester, Opequan, and Cedar Run, the Confederates were thoroughly worsted by Sheridan and driven from the valley. One occasion has been celebrated in song. In October, Sheridan was summoned to Washington on business; and during his absence, on a foggy morning, Early surprised the Union camp at Cedar Run. In the battle which ensued, it was going hard with the Federal army; defeat was imminent, and some regiments were already scattered in flight when Sheridan arrived upon the scene. The sound of the cannon had reached his ears when twenty miles away, and he had come on at a mad gallop. As he met the thronging fugitives, he waved his sword in the air and shouted, "Turn, boys, turn; we're going back." With his other gifts, Sheridan had in a very high degree the kind of personal magnetism that inspires other people. The broken ranks were soon rallied, and the impending defeat was changed into an overwhelming Union victory that ended the days of the Confederacy in the romantic valley of the Shenandoah.

The grandest work of the year, if we measure by the scale on which it was conducted, was done at the West. The Confederate army which had been defeated at Chattanooga had since been recruited to the number of about 65,000, and in its command Bragg was superseded by Joseph Johnston. Against this force, Sherman (Fig. 85) brought his triple army under Thomas, McPherson, and Schofield, numbering about 110,000. Under the circumstances, Johnston could only pursue a Fabian policy and manoeuvre to fritter away Sherman's time while avoiding battle. Johnston was a master of such strategy, and the movements of the campaign, conducted by two such finished generals, were extremely interesting. By the middle of July, Johnston had been slowly pushed back into the neighborhood of Atlanta, when he was suddenly removed from command by President Davis, with whom he was not a favorite. He was succeeded by John Bell Hood, an impulsive and valorous general, whose zeal was

not always sufficiently tempered with discretion. The Union generals who knew him considered that his appointment in Johnston's stead was equivalent to a great victory for the Union cause. But while they were far less afraid of Hood than of Johnston, they expected more fighting and were not deceived. There ensued a series of bloody battles about Atlanta, in which the fiery Hood got the worst of it. In one of these battles McPherson was killed, and his place was taken by Oliver Howard, commander of one of the corps that had been sent from Virginia to the



FIG. 85.—Major-General William Tecumseh Sherman. (From a lithograph by Gibson & Co., Cincinnati. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

relief of Chattanooga. Early in September, Hood was compelled to evacuate Atlanta, and Sherman took possession of the city.

The summer witnessed two naval events that were auspicious for the Union. In June that destructive cruiser, the *Alabama*, had been overtaken off the coast of France by the United States frigate *Kearsarge*, which quickly put an end to her career. This affair seemed to teach the same lesson as the sea-fights of 1812; the *Alabama* was built in England and sailed by English sailors, while her guns were manned by English gunners; but the rapid and accurate firing of the *Kearsarge* sent her to the bottom in less than an hour. Some incidents in our late

war with Spain show that this pre-eminence of American gunnery is still maintained.

The other naval event was the great victory in Mobile Bay in August, which added one more laurel to Farragut's wreath.

The successes at Mobile and Atlanta came at a most opportune moment for the Presidential canvass. It had for some time been clear that the regular Republican candidate would be President Lincoln, but there was a considerable minority in the party which disapproved of Lincoln and his methods. The President had already given indications of a policy for the readmission of the revolted states to their normal position in the Union; foreshadowing in some essential respects the policy which he had completely formulated before his untimely death in 1865, and which was adopted by his unfortunate successor at the White House. The bitter opposition which that policy was to encounter at the hands of the more radical Republicans now found expression in a preliminary national convention held on the last day of May, 1864, at Cleveland. This convention represented the views not only of the more radical Republicans and such abolitionists as Frederick Douglass and Wendell Phillips, but also those of certain War Democrats such as Lucius Robinson, of New York. The influence of the latter was shown in the fourth plank of the platform, and "that the rights of free speech, free press, and the *habeas corpus* be held inviolate, save in districts where martial law has been proclaimed." This resolution referred to the case of Clement Vallandigham, which had created great excitement as an illustration of the despotic tendencies of Lincoln's government. Vallandigham had been a member of Congress from Ohio, and had failed of re-election because of his Copperhead views. When Burnside was in command of the Department of the Ohio in 1863, he issued a proclamation in violation of the freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Against this proclamation Vallandigham protested in loud and intemperate language, whereupon Burnside had him arrested and tried by court-martial, which found him guilty of a high misdemeanor and sentenced him to a term of imprisonment. Vallandigham denied the competency of the court-martial, and the case was referred to President Lincoln as commander-in-chief of the army. For Lincoln it was a situation that might prove embarrassing. To disavow the silly act of Burnside, now that the point had been actually brought up, might be imprudent; so Lincoln disposed of the case somewhat after the manner of juries that return a verdict for the plaintiff and with one cent damages; he did not reverse the finding of the court-martial, but he

instructed Burnside to set his prisoner free and send him out of the Union lines to his friends in the South. Thus Vallandigham made his way to Richmond, whence he presently journeyed by sea to Canada. In spite of Vallandigham's unpopularity, the conduct of Burnside was denounced by the whole Democratic party, as well as by many Republicans, as an unwarrantable intrusion of military authority into civil affairs. As for the Copperheads, who controlled the Democratic state convention of Ohio, nothing would satisfy them short of nominating the martyr Vallandigham as a candidate for governor. The effects of the affair were also shown, as we have seen, in the Cleveland platform. That platform also showed its animus in its tenth plank, "That the one-term policy for the Presidency . . . is strengthened by the force of the existing crisis, and should be maintained by Constitutional amendments." It appeared also in the twelfth plank, "That the question of the reconstruction of the rebellious states belongs to the people, through their representatives in Congress, and not to the executive." Finally, a significant hint of the extreme radical policy was sounded by the thirteenth plank, "That the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice." In these resolutions we may see the germs of the deadly struggle that began a year later between President Johnson and his Congress. This Cleveland convention nominated Frémont, who had been the unsuccessful candidate of the Republican party in 1856, and during the war had been uniformly unsuccessful as a general.

The regular Republican convention met at Baltimore, June 7, and nominated Lincoln for re-election, with a platform expressing a general concurrence in his public policy. Its candidate for the Vice-Presidency was Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, a man always loyal to the Union, whom Lincoln had appointed military governor of that state. The nomination of Johnson, in place of Vice-President Hamlin, who was a more radical Republican than Lincoln, indicated a mild disapproval of the radical policy and a desire to win as many votes as possible from the War Democrats, among whom Andrew Johnson was to be counted.

The Democratic convention assembled at Chicago, August 29. Its platform unreservedly condemned the war as a failure and demanded an immediate cessation of hostilities, "with a view to an ultimate convention of the states or other peaceable means" for restoring the Union by palaver. The platform then went on to upbraid the administration for sundry high-handed acts, some of which were doubtless unnecessary, but which, after all, were in their sum total trivial as compared with

what is apt to occur in civil wars. Upon this platform, which pronounced the war a failure, General McClellan was nominated for the Presidency ; and his acceptance of it, in a letter in which he tried to throw overboard the war-failure plan, gave to the whole affair a strong flavor of *opera bouffe*. For it was perfectly evident to calm observers that the strength of the Confederacy, which had really been gradually ebbing ever since the capture of Fort Donelson, was now nearly exhausted. It was perfectly evident that the South could not continue the struggle for another twelvemonth. Her resistance, indeed, had been such as astonished the world. In numbers and in wealth at the beginning of the struggle, the North was four or five times as strong as the South ; but it should not be forgotten that the war presented a much greater task for the North than for the South. The Southern people had simply to maintain themselves in their own territory against a superior invader—a task which history has often seen achieved. The North, on the other hand, had to conquer and occupy an enormous country stretching from the Potomac to the Rio Grande—the most gigantic task that history records since Caesar's conquest of Gaul. It was not strange, therefore, that the resources of the North should have been somewhat strained. It was in the summer of 1864 that the greenback dollar reached its lowest point, being worth less than forty cents. On the other hand, the Confederate scrip, though it had never been made a legal tender, had nevertheless become utterly worthless, like the assignats of the French Revolution. The horrors of war had come home to people at the South as they had never come home to people at the North. The Southerners saw their plantations invaded, and in some instances their homes destroyed, though there was much less wanton destruction than in most wars. They had been compelled to resort to a conscription more and more merciless, until old men of sixty and young men of sixteen were assembled at the front, leaving none to guard the plantations save cripples and negroes. From one evil, indeed, they had not suffered. The experience of the war brought out in strong relief the fact that the relations between master and slave had been more friendly than was supposed. As a general rule, the slaves were loyal to the families of their masters, and nowhere do we read of any outbreak, such as might reasonably have been expected, among the servile population.

From the outset the South had been somewhat in the condition of a man who is compelled to live upon his principal, because his income is far from sufficient. The blockade at first cut down the exportation of

tobacco, rice, sugar, and especially cotton, to a very low figure, and with its increasing stringency all exportation was stopped. Hence it became impossible to import machinery or any other material of war or peace. Thus the resources of the South could not fail soon to be extinguished. On the other hand, the industrial development of the Northern states went on during the whole period of the war, suffering a serious check, but nevertheless gaining in spite of it; so that in 1865 the North was much more populous and much more wealthy than in 1861, in spite of the terrible drain upon its resources which four years of war had made.

Any careful observer, therefore, in the autumn of 1864 must have seen that the Southern Confederacy had reached the brink of that famous "last ditch," concerning which there had been so much derisive talk. The common sense of the Northern people assured them of this. The very air was so full of presage of Lincoln's victory that on September 21 Frémont withdrew from the contest. In the Presidential election, the first week in November, McClellan carried the states of New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky, making 21 electoral votes. The remaining 212 votes were given to Lincoln, who was thus chosen by an overwhelming majority. It was thus decided that no change should be made in the conduct of the war. We may now give some account of the final military operations.

While the evacuation of Atlanta by the Confederates was for the moment a valuable triumph for Sherman, nevertheless he could not remain there without being compromised. Hood, among whose faults want of activity could not be reckoned, began to show a disposition to threaten Sherman's long line of communications, reaching from Atlanta back into Tennessee. These movements made it necessary for Sherman to draw the bulk of his army northwestward, but without letting go his hold upon Atlanta. For a moment it looked to some people as if Hood were recovering what Johnston had lost, and it would not do to let such a theory become established. Moreover, Sherman's real objective point was now the rear of Lee's army at Petersburg, and to reach that remote objective he must first find a new base on the Atlantic coast. In these circumstances originated that famous march to the sea, by which popular imagination at the North was so captivated. Sherman decided to leave Thomas behind to dispose of Hood, while he himself with 70,000 men started, November 15, on his march through Georgia. This march, which was almost unopposed, ended December 23, with the capture of Savannah. Thomas was left behind with 27,000 men, which

was inadequate to cope with the army of 50,000 that Hood was able to bring against it. Thomas expected reinforcements from Missouri and elsewhere, which would raise his force to more than 50,000 men, and meanwhile his policy was to avoid a battle. In this policy at one point he came near failing. While the daring Hood marched boldly northward toward Nashville, and while Thomas's rear-guard under Schofield was retreating before him, Hood overtook Schofield at the little town of Franklin, November 30, and attacked him with such fury that for a moment he seemed to have pierced the Union centre; but Schofield's troops rallied and inflicted upon the Confederates a murderous repulse, under cover of which Schofield continued his retreat and made good his junction with Thomas. In this battle of Franklin, more than 8000 men were laid low in little more than three hours.

The issue of the whole winter's work now depended upon the trial of strength that was to come off between Hood and Thomas. If the latter were to be defeated, the effect of Sherman's movement would be counteracted, and Lee's stay at Petersburg might be prolonged through another season. In so great a crisis, Thomas deferred action until his reinforcements should have arrived, some 14,000 infantry from Missouri, and 12,000 cavalry under that excellent commander, James H. Wilson, besides other effectives, raising his total force to 55,000; whereas Hood's army had diminished to less than 40,000. At this time, Grant in Virginia was so anxious and impatient at what he considered Thomas's slowness that he actually started off General Logan for Tennessee with instructions authorizing him to supersede Thomas in his command; but when Logan arrived at Cincinnati, he heard news that prevented him from going further—the news that Thomas had won a glorious victory at Nashville. That battle, which was fought December 15 and 16, was really the Waterloo of the rebellion. Hood's army, as an army, was simply swept off the face of the earth, and the war at the West was practically ended; while what followed at the East was simply the inevitable consequence of Nashville. That battle decided that a large part of Thomas's force might be sent back to Sherman, and that the latter might advance northward against Lee's communications.

This movement was facilitated by the capture of Fort Fisher, near Wilmington, in January, 1865. Admiral Porter, with a large fleet, proceeded against that stronghold, assisted by a small army under Butler, whose military career soon ended there in the last of a series of failures. The attempt was next made by General Alfred Terry, who took the place by storm, January 15. Fort Fisher was the last doorway

through which the Confederacy was enabled to gain access to the outer world. Lee deemed its possession absolutely necessary for the support of his army, and its capture was ominous of the end now fast approaching. On February 1, Sherman started northward from Savannah with 60,000 men, to which force the Confederates could oppose no adequate resistance. His first capture was the city of Columbia, which took Charleston in flank and obliged that city to surrender to the Federal fleet. From Columbia, Sherman marched to Fayetteville in North Carolina, where he was joined by Schofield with 10,000 men from Thomas's army. Schofield had just followed up Terry's capture of Fort Fisher by taking Wilmington. From that point, Sherman marched for the important railroad centre at Goldsboro. Here he encountered once more his old antagonist, Joseph Johnston, whose strategy had been commended to President Davis by bitter experience as safer than Hood's. With 30,000 men Johnston vainly contested Sherman's progress in a battle at Averysboro, March 16, and another at Bentonville three days later. The result was Sherman's occupation of Goldsboro, March 21, with an army increased to 80,000. At the same time, James Wilson's cavalry put an end to Forrest's forces near Selma in Alabama, and completely destroyed the Confederate arsenal at that place; while Stoneman, with another force of Union cavalry, tore up the railroads between Knoxville and Lynchburg, thus cutting off Lee's communications with the Southwest. Nobody could fail to see that Lee's army was doomed, but great interest attached to the manner in which that result was to be achieved. On March 5, Sheridan, coming from the Shenandoah valley, defeated Early near Charlottesville, and captured nearly the whole of his forces. Thence Sheridan moved to White House, ready to turn southward and co-operate with Grant's movement against Petersburg. Jefferson Davis had been forced to admit that Richmond could no longer be held, and Lee's purpose was to abandon it and move upon Danville, in order to join forces with Johnston and deal a blow at Sherman before Grant could reach him. In order to facilitate this southward movement, Lee made an attack on the night of March 24 upon Grant's right wing near Fort Stedman. In this gallant attack the Confederates were repulsed with heavy slaughter, and the victorious Federals carried by storm the intrenched picket-lines on Lee's left.

Lee's right wing was at Five Forks, and Grant sent Sheridan to that point, massing his troops somewhat heavily in that quarter. Against this dangerous menace Lee made every possible exertion, sending the dauntless Pickett with a fine force of cavalry under Fitz Hugh Lee to

reinforce that cardinal position ; but in the battle of Five Forks, April 1, Sheridan won a complete victory, scattering the forces opposed to him and taking 6000 prisoners. In his supreme effort at Five Forks, Lee had been obliged to draw from his centre and left, until they had become too thin to stand a general assault. This was well understood by Grant, who ordered such a general assault for daybreak of April 2. In the course of that day the Confederate army was driven from nearly all its positions, and at nightfall Lee withdrew all his troops as quietly as possible. His only hope lay in effecting a junction with Johnston ; but at Amelia Court-House, on the night of April 5, he found the Union forces curved around his army to the south and west, cutting off the railroad to Danville. This discovery obliged Lee to turn further westward toward Lynchburg ; but the next day at Sailor's Creek, Sheridan once more headed him off, capturing the whole of Ewell's corps. Next day Lee crossed to the north bank of the Appomattox River, hoping thence to effect his movement toward Lynchburg ; but before he could destroy the bridges behind him, a Union detachment seized upon one of them, and, Union troops crossing, cut off his last hope of escape. The result was the surrender of Lee and his army to Grant on the 9th of April. The Confederate government had already fled from Richmond, and Jefferson Davis, after a month of wandering, was captured by Wilson's cavalry in a pine forest in the southern part of Georgia. On April 25 Johnston surrendered his army to Sherman, and before the end of May the last insurgent forces had laid down their arms.

The 14th of April was the fourth anniversary of the beginning of the war at Fort Sumter. On that day the close of the war was an occasion of public rejoicing in the city of Washington ; but its close was marked by a tragedy which called forth throughout the United States such mourning as was perhaps never before felt for the death of a statesman. In the evening President Lincoln, in company with his wife and a few friends, was sitting in a box in Ford's Theatre, watching the play "Our American Cousin," when an assassin stole into the box, and, putting a pistol behind the President's head, fired it. Before anyone had time to realize what the detonation meant, this wretch had leaped from the box on to the stage, shouting "Sic semper tyrannis !" and escaped through one of the side passages. The President remained unconscious until the following morning, when he passed away ; one of the greatest, wisest, noblest, and most saintlike specimens of manhood that the world has seen since the apostolic age. Every loyal household in the land mourned the loss as of a personal friend, and strong men unac-

quainted with one another wrung each other's hands and burst into tears as they met on the street. Even beyond seas the President's lofty virtues and lovable nature had made some impression, so that in a measure there was mourning throughout the civilized world.

The assassin was a foolish and unprincipled young man, member of a worthy and honored family of famous actors. He resembled the man for whom he was named rather than those whose blood ran in his veins. John Wilkes Booth emulated the fame of that wicked and silly Brutus who stabbed the mighty Caesar, and he chose the most sensational way of executing his horrible purpose. His plan was to murder as many members of the government as possible; and he enlisted in it half a dozen worthless wretches in Washington, to each of whom a special victim was assigned. On that same fatal evening, as Secretary Seward was lying ill in bed at his home, one of these scoundrels came up-stairs to his room and stabbed him three times about the neck; but the Secretary saved himself by rolling off the further side of the bed, and the assassin was obliged to fly for his life. The other attempts were all complete failures. Nearly all of the ruffians were caught and hanged, and Booth was overtaken in his flight and shot like a dog.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIGHT AGAINST CORRUPTION.

THE murder of President Lincoln deprived the South of its best and most powerful friend. Not a trace of vindictiveness toward the authors of the rebellion was to be found in the thoughts with which he greeted its overthrow. His whole mood was one of tenderness ; his sole purpose was to comfort widows and orphans, to repair, so far as might be, the damage that had been done, and to restore the revolted states as quickly as possible to their normal position in the Union. Indeed, a day or two before his death, he expressed a hope that all the eleven revolted states would be represented in the next coming Congress. With such ends in view, he had late in 1863 issued a proclamation of amnesty in which he had declared that in any of those states, as soon as ten per cent. of the voters of 1860 should have taken an oath of allegiance to the United States and should have satisfied the President of their intention to abide by and faithfully support all acts of Congress or the President with reference to slaves, the governments which they should set up would be recognized by the President, although of course it would be left for Congress to say for itself whether or not it would admit their Representatives and Senators to seats. In such wise, before the Presidential election of 1864, new governments had been set up in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Tennessee, and had been recognized by the President ; but the action of Congress had been somewhat inconsistent, for, on the one hand, the Representatives from Louisiana had been admitted to seats, while, on the other hand, Congress refused to receive or count the electoral votes of Louisiana and Tennessee, although such counting would have made no difference in the result of the election.

Whether President Lincoln, if he had lived, would have been able to carry out this lenient policy to its full extent is doubtful. He would surely have encountered a formidable opposition in Congress, and his plans would probably have undergone more or less modification ; but so great was his tact, and so strong was his hold upon public confidence, that in all probability the disgraceful scenes which the so-called period

of reconstruction witnessed would have been avoided. The South would in all probability have been spared the infliction of much needless suffering, and some prolific springs of public corruption would never have been set flowing.

Lincoln's policy of reconstruction was substantially identical with that of Andrew Johnson (Fig. 86), who succeeded him in the Presidency. This was natural enough, since both were natives of border states and able to understand the conditions of life at the South much better than the abolitionists of New England and the Northwest; but Johnson was

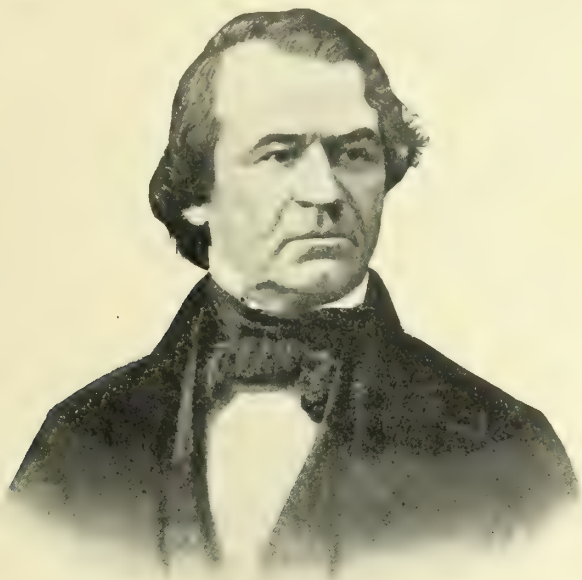


FIG. 86.—President Andrew Johnson. (From a mezzotint proof by Irwin and Sartain. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

absolutely destitute of tact and had an insufficient endowment of common sense. His origin was as humble as Lincoln's, but his early education had been very different. Johnson had passed the age of twenty before learning to read, and his mind was not one that widened by assimilating the experiences of life, as Lincoln's did. By dint of hard pushing, Johnson had reached a position where the accidents of politics and the bullet of an assassin had made him the executive head of a great nation at one of its critical moments; but he remained to the last a coarse and ignorant man, swelling with self-importance, and so rude that he could hardly do a right thing without making it seem

wrong. Under these circumstances a shameful quarrel between President and Congress might easily have been predicted.

Before the December meeting of Congress, Johnson had recognized the new governments set up in all the remaining states; and these states had themselves furnished the occasion for Congress to attack the President's policy and substitute for it a very dangerous one of its own. These new Southern legislatures in many cases passed statutes concerning employment and vagrancy which seemed more or less to violate the freedom of the negroes and to indicate a purpose of keeping them in subjection in spite of nominal emancipation. Such statutes as these irritated the radicals in Congress and served as an excuse for the scheme which they were beginning to entertain. This was a scheme for securing a perpetual majority in the government for the Republican party. The Southern states were henceforth to be made Republican, and thus the national supremacy of that party was to be forever insured. To this end it was necessary that the negroes should not only be secured in their freedom, but should at once receive the suffrage; and it was held that the former end could be secured only by the latter means. At the same time, the Southern people who had taken active parts in the rebellion were to be disfranchised. In support of this scheme, various theories were propounded as to the present status of the seceded states. Some people held that the act of secession had destroyed their statehood, so that they had lapsed into the condition of territories, and were thus subjected to Congress. Without going so far as this, it was held by Thaddeus Stevens, a very able member from Pennsylvania, that the rebellion had for the time being suspended all Federal law in the seceded states, and that such Federal law could only be revived after these states had given ample guarantees of future loyalty and set up governments acceptable to Congress. This view was less easily assailable than the former, while it permitted Congress to do pretty much as it liked. However hostile President Johnson might feel to these views, his opposition to them was not likely to be effective; for by military supervision of the polls in the border states, so many Republican members had been returned as to give a Republican majority of two-thirds in both Houses, thus making it always possible to pass a bill over the President's veto.

Congress began by refusing to admit the representatives of the seceded states until it should see fit to declare itself satisfied with such guarantees as they should thereafter give. Thus the new governments were refused recognition by Congress. Now it had happened that in February, 1865, Congress had passed the Thirteenth Amendment to the

Constitution, abolishing slavery throughout the land, and had offered this amendment to the states for ratification. It had been ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, or 27 out of 36. With one vote less, the amendment would have failed. Now, eleven of these votes in ratification were given by Southern states. When Congress, therefore, refused to admit that the new Southern governments were legitimate, it implicitly pronounced the Thirteenth Amendment invalid; but such trifles of inconsistency as this were apt to be disregarded in the headlong stream of political passion.

Early in 1866 Congress passed a "Civil Rights" bill, the practical effect of which was to declare all negroes citizens possessed of civil rights, all infractions of which should be prosecuted by Federal officers and tried in Federal courts. The next measure was the Fourteenth Amendment, which passed Congress in June, 1866. This amendment debarred from Federal office all conspicuous officers of the Confederacy until they should receive a pardon from Congress; it declared invalid all debts incurred in prosecuting resistance to the United States government; and it practically provided that if any state should withhold the franchise from its negroes, the Congressional representation of such state should be diminished in the ratio of its colored population. The Southern states were required to accept this amendment, but in the course of the autumn several of them rejected it. The situation was grave, and, but for the utter exhaustion of the South, there might have been a renewal of hostilities. The Republican party, bereft of its great leader, fell more and more completely under the sway of smaller and narrower men; and President Johnson did all that he could to help his adversaries by travelling about the country and making violent speeches in denunciation of their proceedings. Most people who heard Johnson speak went away with a feeling that the men against whom he thundered must be in the right. Thus the autumn elections for Congressmen resulted in a greater Republican majority than ever.

Thus encouraged, the old Congress, which assembled for its last session in December, proceeded to tie the President's hands. It voted that the new Congress should assemble on the 4th of March, the day following the adjournment of the old one, instead of waiting till December. A bill was also enacted prohibiting the President from removing any public officer without the consent of the Senate; and finally a rider to an appropriation bill made General Grant virtually independent of the President as regarded the command of the army.

Loaded with these fetters and deprived of his veto power, the Presi-

dent was unable to check the mad course of Congress, which forthwith proceeded to its notorious Reconstruction Act. Tennessee had been admitted to representation in July, 1866, having accepted the Fourteenth Amendment. The other ten states of the defunct Confederacy were arranged in five military districts, each to be governed by a general of the army, appointed by the President and sustained by a force of troops. These military dictators were to supervise the registration of voters, admitting and excluding names according to prescribed rules, the practical effect of which was to enfranchise all negroes and disfranchise the larger part of the well-to-do citizens who had property to lose. The registered voters in each state were to hold an election for delegates to a convention which was to frame a constitution to be submitted to Congress for approval. Until such approval should have been gained and the Fourteenth Amendment accepted, the states in question might indeed elect their own governors and legislatures, but were to remain subject to the military tyranny which the Reconstruction Act created.

Such were the main features of this infamous act, which was the product partly of unbridled fanaticism, partly of the political cunning which saw in it a means of securing a perpetual lease of power to the Republican party. The effect of it was to drive from that party its ablest and most conservative leaders, thus leaving it more and more in the hands of fanatics and of persons who went into politics for the sake of place or pelf. Upon the South the effects were disastrous. The men of wealth and ability who were the natural leaders of society were debarred from votes and from public office, while negroes and mean whites were largely represented in the legislatures, and in some states obtained good working majorities. These poor ignorant creatures were taken in hand by adventurers from the Northern states, often men of vilest character, whose sole object was plunder. These scoundrels flattered and bribed the negroes, who elected them to governorships, judgeships, and other high places. The governments thus came to be conducted by men with nothing to lose, but with everything to gain, and such men proceeded to vote the taxes which were to be paid by men who had no voice in the government. The natural results followed. Wealthy citizens were impoverished, the crops suffered, business came to a standstill, and crimes against the person increased in frequency to an alarming extent. In this foul state of things, violence was met with violence; and secret organizations, of which the best-known was the "Ku-Klux Klan," sent their bands about the country, burning barns and now and then a house, or taking citizens from their firesides and

murdering them in cold blood. In view of all this, it is wonderful that in less than forty years the Southern people should have become once more at heart attached to the Union. For this happy result we have surely not to thank the men in Congress who framed the Reconstruction Act.

By midsummer of 1868 all these unhappy states had been admitted to representation except Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas. By that time the Fourteenth Amendment had become law, and in the following winter Congress added a fifteenth, forbidding either the United States or any single state to abridge the right of citizens to vote "on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." The four states just mentioned were obliged to swallow this pill as well as its predecessors, and in the course of 1870 they were brought to do so.

It was not strange that amid such events a deadly struggle should break out between the President and Congress, nor was it strange that between two such violent and ill-mannered men as President Johnson and Secretary Stanton a quarrel should break out at any time. In the summer of 1867, while Congress was not in session, the President asked Stanton to resign. Mr. Stanton refused, and Johnson accordingly suspended him from office, pending the action of the Senate. When Congress assembled, the Senate refused to concur in the removal. Since Stanton's suspension, General Grant had been holding the office of Secretary of War *ad interim*. On hearing of the vote in the Senate, he at once abandoned it and Stanton took possession. The affair entailed some sharp words between Johnson and Grant. Hitherto the complexion of Grant's politics had not been known; but in this affair he seemed to place himself on Stanton's side, and was thus presented to people's minds as an available Presidential candidate for the Republicans. The President was furious with indignation over the tenure-of-office act, which he rightly regarded as unconstitutional, and in his wrath he ventured upon a rash step. He removed Stanton once more and put in his place Lorenzo Thomas, who served upon Stanton a notice to quit. Stanton refused and sent the notice to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, whereupon it was resolved by that body to impeach the President for high crimes and misdemeanors. This was on the 24th of February, 1868. On the 5th of March the impeachment trial began before the Senate sitting as a court of impeachment, with Salmon Chase, who was now Chief Justice of the United States, in the chair. The progress of the trial, which lasted until May 16, was watched by the whole country with grave interest. It was marked by silly and intemperate speeches on the part of the prosecutors, and by one of the most powerful legal

arguments ever delivered in the English language by one of the President's counsel, Benjamin Robbins Curtis. That great speech gave added weight to a feeling which grew steadily during the trial that on the particular point at issue the President was really, though not technically, in the right; and that his enemies in Congress were playing against him an unscrupulous game which would make his conviction and removal from office a calamity to the nation. It would be a step in what used then to be called "Mexicanization." It was therefore with a great feeling of relief that sober minds heard the news of his acquittal. A two-thirds' vote of the Senate was required for conviction, and the impeachers failed of their object by just one vote. All the Democrats and seven Republicans voted for acquittal; and these courageous seven were abused without stint by partisan newspapers for weeks to come, until other topics usurped the place of this.

Such topics were soon furnished by the Presidential canvass. The Republican convention met at Chicago, May 20, adopted a platform approving the reconstruction act, and nominated Grant as its candidate. The Democratic convention met at New York, July 4, and adopted a platform which practically affirmed Lincoln's principles of reconstruction and demanded that the question of suffrage should be left to the states. Among the candidates balloted for, the name of Chief Justice Chase was conspicuous; but the candidate selected was Horatio Seymour, formerly governor of New York, an able and excellent gentleman, but the weakest possible of candidates, because he had been what was called a Peace Democrat. A much stronger candidate in his place would have been the gentleman who was coupled with him for the Vice-Presidency, Francis Blair, of Missouri, who had played such an important part in the work of putting down the rebellion. It was impossible, however, for any candidate to stand up against Grant, who received 214 electoral votes against 80 for Seymour.

In concluding our account of Johnson's administration, we may observe that in 1867 the United States purchased from Russia the territory of Alaska for about \$7,000,000. This acquisition was derided at the time by some people, as had been the case a generation earlier with the territory of Oregon. Time has shown, however, that it is likely to prove a most valuable acquisition. Its resources in mines, forests, and furs are enormous; its scenery rivals that of Norway or Switzerland; the climate of its southwestern coast, shut off from the polar colds by lofty mountains and warmed by the Japan current, is soft and mild, the winters being much less cold than in New York or Philadelphia; and

this region is already becoming a favorite resort for hard-worked people seeking vacation. The area of Alaska, of which Sitka (Fig. 87) is the chief town, exceeds that of France and Germany combined, and its principal river is nearly as large as the Mississippi.

With the accession of General Grant to the Presidency (March 4, 1869) we arrive at a period so near to our own time that it is not yet ripe for historical treatment. Data exist in great abundance, but they have not received that long and well-digested critical study which is needed by the historian whose work is anything more than a bald, unintelligent



FIG. 87.—Sitka, the capital of Alaska. (From photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

chronicle. We shall therefore content ourselves with a brief and cursory mention of the principal events of the thirty years following 1868.

First, as for Grant's two Presidential terms (1869-73, 1873-77), we may best select for mention the cardinal events without strict regard to chronological sequence. Among these events were two which rendered that time illustrious: one occurring in his first term, the other in his second. The first of these was the Treaty of Washington, concluded May 8, 1871. Besides certain questions relating to the Oregon boundary and to the Canadian fisheries, this treaty contained a final settlement of the so-called "Alabama Claims." Much indignation was still felt in America over the depredations of the Alabama and other Confederate

cruisers built in English dockyards, and although there was no immediate likelihood of war arising from the situation, nevertheless it might have proved a fruitful source of contention in the future. For example, there were many silly people who wished the question to remain unsettled in order that the next time Great Britain should go to war with any other power, we should have our neutral hands free to harass Great Britain with the same violations of neutrality for which we were blaming her. Happily, wiser councils prevailed. The matter was referred to a court of arbitration assembled at Geneva in Switzerland, and the cases at issue between the United States and Great Britain were argued by counsel and decided by the court precisely as if it had been a lawsuit between two individuals. As regards the Alabama question, the court decided against our English cousins and directed their government to pay over to the United States \$15,000,000 in damages, which was promptly and cheerfully done, to the manifest advantage of good feeling on all sides. This was the first really great instance of the substitution of judicial for military methods of settling disputes between nations, and the example has already been followed by various governments in more than twenty cases. To the historian of the future it may perhaps loom up as the greatest event of the nineteenth century.

The other cardinal event of Grant's time was his veto of the Inflation Bill in 1874. A decision of the Supreme Court in 1869 pronounced the legal-tender act of 1862 unconstitutional and void. Soon afterward two new judges were appointed by the President, and it happened that only three months after this wise and wholesome decision the court pronounced another opinion which reversed it. The effect of this was somewhat to weaken the public respect for the Supreme Court, and it doubtless tended to strengthen the faction which wished to inflate the currency by a fresh issue of legal-tender notes. This faction, known as "Greenbackers," from the color of the notes, had its adherents in both the great political parties; but the chief adherents of the Greenback delusion were to be found among Western and Southern Democrats. Early in 1874 a bill providing for the further issue of greenbacks passed both Houses of Congress and was vetoed by Grant, a service to his country for which he deserves as much credit as for any of his victories in the field. This veto seemed to turn back the current of feeling and to give added strength to the advocates of sound money; and in January, 1875, an act was passed providing for the resumption of specie payments on January 1, 1879.

The reconstruction policy, to which Congress had committed itself,

was carried on for a time with harshness ; but in May, 1872, warned by growing indications of popular disapproval throughout the Northern states, Congress found a lucid interval in which to pass an "Amnesty Act," which relieved from political disabilities nearly all the leading Southerners, excepting only those who had retired from high public office under the United States in order to serve the Confederacy. In the following year the famous decision of the Supreme Court in the "slaughter-house cases" virtually decided that the eleven states which had formed the Confederacy were states of the Union with statehood unimpaired. At the South the odious rule of the carpet-baggers continued to be supported by Federal bayonets, and the natural resistance of the people continued to show itself in the dark deeds of the Ku-Klux and still more in disturbances at elections. The opposition to negro rule took the form sometimes of fraud, as in stuffing ballot-boxes with what were called "tissue" ballots, sometimes of violence, as in intimidating negroes and keeping them away from the polls. This last method was known as "bulldozing," a term which has since acquired currency in American slang as an equivalent for browbeating. On some occasions negroes were assaulted and murdered at the polls. The occurrence of such "autumnal outbreaks," as Grant called them, were held to justify the presence of Federal troops at Southern elections ; but on the other hand, it was maintained that these troops were sometimes used as tools by wily carpet-bag adventurers for the accomplishment of their dishonest purposes.

The most noticeable feature of Grant's time was the visible extent to which corruption had pervaded all departments of political life. This corruption was the result of a complication of causes. In the first place, the Crawford act of 1820, making all petty offices become vacant after a four-years' tenure, had afforded the opportunity of which Andrew Jackson took advantage in 1829 to make wholesale removals. The Jackson policy was continued by all succeeding administrations, and comparatively little heed was paid to its evils, because public attention was absorbed by the topics of slavery and secession. By Lincoln's time the evils had greatly increased with the growth of the country ; as the civil list enlarged, the opportunities for asking and granting favors became more numerous. The offices were really taken away from the people and put in the hands of the men who made politics a trade. Public opinion was completely debauched, until it was wellnigh forgotten that public office is a public trust. Offices were regarded as sugar-plums to be dispensed by political wire-pullers among the good boys who aided

and abetted them, and the results were such as are apt to follow when there are many more boys than sugar-plums. Efficiency and faithfulness in the discharge of official duties became entirely subordinated to the greed for obtaining office or to the dread of losing it. Hence, office-holders served the masters who controlled their destinies rather than the people, of whom they were virtually independent. Thus the character of the office-holding class was lowered. In place of the discreet men who had formerly been chosen or appointed and long kept in place for efficiency and trustworthiness, it came to consist largely of men who hungered for small salaries because they had not the ability to earn money in any productive occupation, the kind of men who lounge about taverns, drinking bad whiskey and scheming how Tom or Dick shall be put in some position where he can make his friends comfortable out of the public funds. The evil was increased by the assessments that were levied by party managers upon all incumbents of public offices. Such assessments were levied for the purpose of increasing the "campaign fund." They often constituted a considerable drain upon meagre salaries, but they were called, by an impudent euphemism, "voluntary contributions." Nowhere did the spoils system exert a more baneful influence than in the government of cities; and in general, the larger the city, the worse were the evils. The rapid growth of cities, resulting from the introduction of railroads and the consequent opening of vast areas of production, was something for which our methods of government were ill-prepared. The spoils system soon perceived the advantage it would gain from yoking municipal and national politics together, and from this mischievous alliance came many disastrous effects. The evil was enhanced, and still continues to be enhanced, by the fact that in a rapidly developing country the opportunities for making money are so great that the ablest men find all their energies absorbed in the industrial competition, so that they have no time left for attending to politics. They can better afford to let a few miscreants plunder them, up to a certain extent, than to spend their time and energies in the difficult task of ensuring good government. The net result is, that the men pre-eminent for ability and honesty have abdicated the work of government, because they have what they consider more important matters to attend to; and thus the business of government is left in the hands of persons inferior morally and mentally; for though these creatures often show a certain kind of ability, it is pretty sure to be of the low Ben Butler type. This state of things will be remedied just so soon as our abler citizens, the natural leaders of the commonwealth, begin to find it for their

interest to stop depredations upon their property, even at the cost of diminishing their earnings; and no sooner. At the present time there are symptoms that such a reaction is setting in, but thirty years ago people were just waking up to the existence of the evil and beginning to talk about the means of contending with it.

Foremost among the early agitators of civil service reform was Thomas Jenckes, a member of Congress from Rhode Island; and most eminent, perhaps, of those who fought for it through good and evil report was the eminent New York lawyer, Dorman Bridgman Eaton,



Samuel J. Tilden

FIG. 88.—Samuel Jones Tilden. (From an unlettered proof of an engraving by Ritchie. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

who excited such antipathy among the scoundrels that he was once assaulted at midnight and came near paying with his life for his devotion to good government.

In March, 1871, Congress passed a civil-service act, appointing a commission and providing for a system of competitive examinations. President Grant warmly approved of this act and administered it faithfully in spite of the opposition of politicians; but in December, 1874, the latter prevailed in Congress, and further appropriations for the support of the commission were voted down. This stopped the good work for a time. Meanwhile, the city of New York furnished such a

scandal as had scarcely before been seen. A combination was formed for systematic robbery of the public funds. Its leader was a low fellow named William Marcy Tweed, who had been chosen commissioner of public works; he was commonly called Boss Tweed, and the combination was familiarly known as the Tweed Ring. The mayor of the city and other men high in office were accomplices in the work of the ring. Enormous appropriations were made for building and other purposes, out of which small sums were paid to the contractors, while the greater part went to buy thoroughbred horses, champagne, and Oriental rugs for Tweed and his pals. As one of these was the comptroller of



FIG. 89.—Carl Schurz.

the municipal treasury, it was easy to manipulate the books and audit the accounts in such a way as to hoodwink the public, but only for a time. In the course of 1871 the foul mystery was deciphered and the criminals brought to justice. Tweed was obliged to live in narrow quarters with shaven head and wearing clothes of a striped pattern. Two of the most eminent lawyers in New York, Charles O'Connor and Samuel Tilden (Fig. 88), were brought into national prominence for their share in overthrowing the Tweed Ring.

By the spring of 1872 disgust at the prevalent official corruption combined with the growing reaction against the tyrannical policy of the Reconstruction Act to create a feeling of dissatisfaction among men who

had hitherto favored the Republican party. In Missouri the party had lately split into "Radical" and "Liberal" Republicans. During the war the state had imposed disqualifications upon its own secessionist citizens; the Radicals now wished to continue these disqualifications, while the Liberals, led by Benjamin Gratz Brown and Carl Schurz (Fig. 89), wished for universal amnesty. The Liberals were supported by the Democrats and thus carried the state. Under the stimulus of this success a Liberal Republican party began to show itself in various parts of the country, and early in 1872 the Liberals of Missouri called for a national convention to meet at Cincinnati in May. It was generally felt by leading Democrats, who watched these proceedings with interest, that if the Liberal convention should nominate a good candidate upon a good platform, it would be for their interest to nominate the same candidate in their own national convention. It was hoped that this alliance would suffice to defeat Grant's re-election. It was generally believed that the Liberals would nominate Charles Francis Adams, son of President John Quincy Adams, and minister to Great Britain during the civil war. Perhaps no man then living had performed more important services to his country than he. During the first few ballots Adams's name was foremost, but lynx-eyed politicians from New York had watched these proceedings and presently contrived to capture the convention, which stultified itself and insulted the nation by offering it, as candidate, Horace Greeley (Fig. 90), editor of the *New York Tribune*, an eccentric personage with many merits, but representing the spirit and aims of the convention in nothing save clemency toward the South. This nomination risked the loss of Democratic support, inasmuch as Greeley was a rabid protectionist, and the Democrats still professed to be a free-trade party.

Nevertheless, ever since the split between Douglas and the Southern leaders in Buchanan's time, the Democratic party had been getting more and more demoralized, and now they had sunk to such a depth of degradation that at their national convention they tamely accepted Horace Greeley as their candidate, thereby doing all that in them lay to ensure the re-election of Grant. It is worthy of note that two small parties calling themselves the "Labor" party and "Prohibition" party put candidates into the field; a sure symptom that men's attention was no longer absorbed by the great Southern question. The better element among the Democratic leaders—what the Prophet Isaiah would have called its saving "remnant"—proceeded to hold a separate convention, which nominated Charles O'Connor as its candidate for President. In the

election, Grant obtained 286 electoral votes, leaving only 80 for Greeley. But, before the meeting of the electoral college, Greeley died, so that the electors were free to vote for whom they pleased. Forty-two votes were given to Thomas Hendricks, of Indiana, and the rest were scattering.

In spite of this overwhelming defeat of the opposition, its strength went on increasing. The evils of the carpet-bag régime at the South became more and more glaring, and the use of Federal troops made many people apprehensive. Early in 1875 two rival governors with their rival legislatures were installed in the Louisiana State-House, when

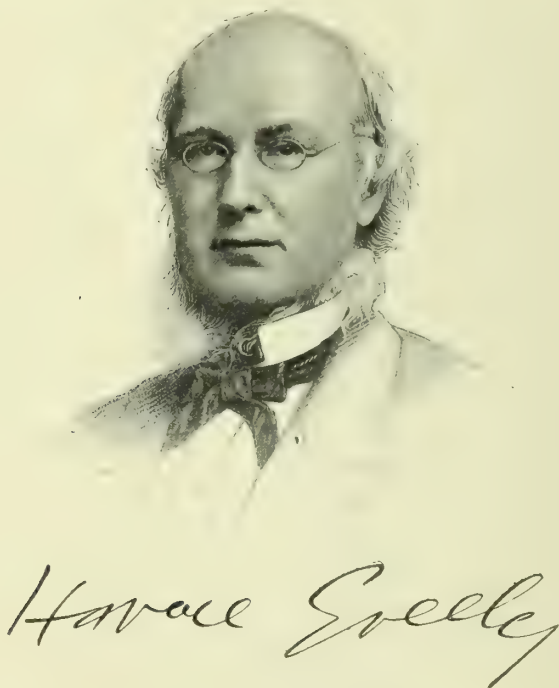


FIG. 90.—Horace Greeley.

the Democratic legislature was ejected by Federal troops at the point of the bayonet. In authorizing this act, the President contended that he was simply fulfilling that clause of the Constitution which enjoins that the United States shall guarantee to every state a republican form of government; but unless the word "Republican" was to be construed in the party sense which happened to clothe it in 1875, this was a very lame apology. It was interpreted as one more among many indications that the Republican party was resolved to stop at nothing, and might be counted on to employ foul means as well as fair, in keeping its hold

upon the government. Within two years it was to be shown that such forebodings were justified.

Scandals, too, went on accumulating. The year 1869 had witnessed the completion of the first railway system between the Mississippi River and the Pacific coast. A corporation known as "*Crédit Mobilier*" was interested in this railway construction, and in 1869 it was proved to have successfully bribed sundry members of Congress. A little later came the so-called "*salary grab*" or "*back-pay steal*," an act by which Congress voted for its members an increase of salary that took effect some time before its passage. In 1875 were discovered the "*whiskey frauds*," in which sundry distillers had combined with Federal officials to enrich themselves by stealings from the internal revenue. A climax was reached when Belknap, Secretary of War, was impeached for having accepted bribes in dispensing that portion of the Federal patronage which was at his disposal. This scandal was simply heightened when Belknap was allowed to escape condemnation by resigning his office. So many scandals arose in connection with persons near the President that some people began to doubt his own honesty, and this feeling was increased by Grant's insuperable unwillingness to believe ill of people to whom he had once given his confidence. This seemed to lend color to the charge that he connived at acts of dishonesty. Such suspicions were grossly unjust to Grant, who in matters of business had a simplicity of nature comparable only to that of an old sailor when he steps ashore for a day or two in some great city.

In 1874 the wave which had been for a moment arrested two years earlier burst upon the country like a true tidal wave. In the autumn election a Republican majority of 100 or more in the House of Representatives was replaced by a Democratic majority nearly as large. Many Republican states elected Democratic governors for the first time since the Republican party was founded. Massachusetts was usually sure for the Republicans by majorities varying from 20,000 to 80,000; but in 1874 the Republicans, after several times annoying the community by prohibitory liquor laws, nominated as candidate for governor a man known to be an ardent Prohibitionist; and the Democrats elected their candidate by a heavy majority, thus scotching the Prohibitionist snake for many years to come. In that same autumn Tilden was elected governor of New York, and proceeded to do further good service in detecting and punishing corrupt officials and rings. This led the Democrats to make him their Presidential candidate. The crying need of the time was the purification of politics, and Tilden stood as the representative foe of

corruption. On the Republican side there was some talk of a third term for Grant; but when the convention assembled, the rival claimants for the nomination were found to be James Gillespie Blaine and Benjamin Bristow. The former had for some time been Speaker of the House of Representatives. He was a man of rather shallow intelligence, but of engaging manners, and, without ever having shown himself anything more than a machine politician, he had won a large personal following. His hold, however, was upon the politicians rather than upon the people. He had been suspected of complicity in some of the scandals of the time, and it had even been whispered that he had marketed his rulings as



FIG. 91.—President Rutherford Birchard Hayes. (From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

Speaker of the House. Bristow, on the other hand, a native of Kentucky, who had served with credit in the Union army, had been Secretary of the Treasury under Grant, and had shown himself active in hunting out and punishing rascals. The Bristow men insinuated that Blaine was corrupt, to which the Blaine men retorted by sneering at the “kid-glove morals” and “Sunday-school politics” of the Bristow men. The result of the contest was a compromise by which the nomination fell to Rutherford Hayes (Fig. 91), who had attained the rank of general in the Union army and had been member of Congress from Ohio. Hayes was a man of spotless integrity, somewhat lacking in marked or positive qualities, but much stronger than he was at first supposed to be,

There was a marked difference between this Presidential canvass and any of its predecessors since 1860. For the first time in all that period the Republicans felt that they were in some danger of losing, and consequently there was much more intensity of feeling and bitterness of expression than usual. Indeed, it is probable that no Presidential contest since that of 1800 approached that of 1876 in fierce unscrupulousness; and perhaps no American candidate for the Presidency ever received so much wanton abuse as Tilden. A man of absolutely pure and upright life, refined in tastes, benevolent and kindly, for scholarship recalling such men as Madison or John Quincy Adams, for statesmanlike grasp and insight rivalling Jefferson and Van Buren, this man was surely one of the most admirable candidates that had ever been put forward for the office of President; yet it was customary to hear him charged with every kind of dishonesty that was ever concocted in the secret councils of the Father of Lies. Just as in 1800, it was believed that a party change at the White House would bring destruction upon the country. People were gravely assured that the election of Tilden would mean the dissolution of the Union, the re-enslavement of the blacks, the assumption of the rebel war-debt, and pretty much everything else, even to the rehabilitation of greenbacks; for any stick was good enough to beat that dog with. The Republican leaders well understood this state of popular feeling; they knew that many persons who were preparing for the first time to vote the Democratic ticket felt a kind of uneasy shiver in so doing, and we have now to see in what a nefarious manner they profited by the situation.

The voting, upon the day of the election, left the result in doubt. In most of the Southern states, notwithstanding the elaborate pains taken to prevent it, the Democratic party had regained possession of the government; but in South Carolina, Florida, and Louisiana, this had not yet been accomplished. There was little doubt that since the amnesty act, on a full and fair count, all three of those states were as Democratic as the rest of the South; but in point of fact, in each of the three there were two rival governments. In order to settle vexed election cases, small bodies called "returning boards" had been appointed and authorized to count votes and declare the results. Such work should be entrusted only to honest men, but these returning boards were apt to be composed of very poor material. On the present occasion, from each of the three states two sets of electoral votes were handed in to Congress, one set giving the names of Democratic electors, the other of Republican. Now, the whole number of electoral votes was then 369, of which Tilden

had undeniably received 184, thus lacking just one of the requisite majority. If the votes of the three disputed states, therefore, should be counted for Hayes, it would give him 185, the needed majority of one. In order to obtain this result, it would be necessary to count for Hayes all three of the doubtful states. This situation was discovered on the day after the election by the chairman of the National Republican Committee, Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan, a man of great boldness and force, without being over-nice as to the means to be used in carrying his point. The news that the state of New York had gone for Tilden by a heavy majority had seemed decisive, and the day after the election the choice of Tilden had been announced in the newspapers from Maine to California, and Hayes himself had gracefully acknowledged his defeat, when there came from Chandler to the local managers everywhere the significant message, "Claim everything!" It had occurred to him that the presence of Federal troops in the disputed states could be used to prevent the consummation of Democratic success there, or at all events, since those states had been made hotbeds of treachery and cheating, similar methods might now be employed to give the Presidency to the man who had not really won it at the polls.

The situation thus created was without precedent, and subsequent legislation has so arranged matters that probably nothing quite like it can ever happen again. The Federal Constitution had simply provided that the electoral votes should be taken from their envelopes by the President of the Senate in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, and that the votes should "then be counted." But how the votes were to be counted, or by whom, or who should be empowered to decide between dual returns, the Constitution had not prescribed; for its framers probably regarded these matters as fit subjects for joint rules made by the two Houses. Now, when the question came up for the first time, it happened that the Senate was Republican and the House Democratic, so that there was no hope of their agreeing upon any rule. Each House would, of course, insist upon such rules as would elect the candidate of its majority. For example, when dual returns came in from Louisiana in 1872, the Senate and House agreed in refusing to receive either set; but then it made no difference in the result, whether either set of votes were received or not. Now in 1876, when Louisiana sent in dual returns, the Senate would never consent to reject both sets; for if the eight votes of Louisiana were thrown out, the sum total would be reduced from 369 to 361, and Hayes would have only 177 votes against Tilden's 184. It was therefore necessary that Louisiana should be counted in and counted

Republican at whatever cost. Such a course was fraught with difficulties, among which it may suffice to mention one: it could easily be proved that the Republican returning board in Louisiana had failed to comply with the election laws, and this invalidated its certificate. It would be tedious to recount the subterfuges to which men ordinarily right-minded were willing to resort. Some persons even maintained, with faces quite sober, that the Constitution intended that the president of the Senate (who happened to be Thomas Ferry, a Republican) should count the votes and decide all vexed questions at his own good pleasure. It would be superfluous to inform the reader to what party these Constitutional pundits belonged. While the discussion was going on, several politicians and lawyers from both parties visited the capital of Louisiana with the ostensible purpose of ascertaining the truth. They were called "visiting statesmen"; and after it was all over, President Hayes rewarded such of them as were Republicans with foreign missions and other high offices.

The situation was one which would not admit of delay, for on the 4th of March the terms of President Grant and of the House of Representatives would expire, and the Constitution had made no provision for such an interregnum. In January, 1877, therefore, a bill creating an Electoral Commission passed both Houses and was signed by President Grant. This commission had the powers of a court of arbitration, and from its decision there could be no appeal. It was to consist of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the Supreme Court. Great pains were taken to eliminate partisan prejudice from this tribunal. Seven of its members were pronounced Republicans, and seven were pronounced Democrats. The fifteenth member was one of the Justices, David Davis, of Illinois, a man of rare independence in his opinions and actions, and noted for his ability to rise above partisan views. But however deftly man proposes, there is a Power that disposes, and often in a way that is inscrutable. A Senatorship from Illinois was offered to Justice Davis, and he accepted it, resigning his position on the bench. It was therefore necessary to replace him by another judge, and the man chosen happened to be a Republican. The commission thus stood eight Republicans to seven Democrats.

When the votes were counted by Congress in February, the roll of states was called in alphabetical order. Among the disputed cases that of Florida was first reached, and then Louisiana. In these cases the dual returns were referred to the Electoral Commission to decide which should be accepted; and each side was represented by counsel, who

argued as before any court. It was obvious to all that any inquiry on the subject would result in favor of the Democrats, therefore it was ruled that there should be no inquiry. The Republican returns were in one sense more regular upon their face, inasmuch as they were sent in by the Republican state governments which President Grant had recognized and in one instance upheld by military force. It was therefore decided that in each case the Republican returns should be accepted without inquiry, and each of these decisions of the commission was reached by a vote of eight to seven.

Then the roll-call went on until Oregon was reached, and the situation became intensely interesting. It happened that of the three electors chosen in Oregon, one was disqualified from serving because he held a Federal office. Clearly, then, the Republican vote of Oregon was technically invalid. The governor of Oregon, Lafayette Grover, was a Democrat; he refused to send to Congress the electoral vote as it came to him, but substituted in place of the disqualified Republican elector the name of the Democratic elector. Thus, as the return was sent to Congress, it made Oregon give two votes for Hayes and one for Tilden. The course of Governor Grover was quite indefensible. He had exceeded his constitutional authority in the matter, and there can be no doubt that the vote of the state belonged properly to Hayes; but how could this point be ascertained by the Electoral Commission without instituting an inquiry into the matter? It had been decided in the two former cases by strict partisan vote that no such inquiry was permissible; but if that rule were now followed in the case of Oregon, Tilden would receive one more vote and would thus become President. Therefore, with an unblushing effrontery for which perhaps no parallel can be found in human history, this precious Electoral Commission, by a strictly partisan vote of eight to seven, decided that it was permissible to go behind the returns and institute inquiries. This point having been made, it was of course easy to count Oregon as entirely Republican, and everybody saw that the matter was now virtually ended. For when South Carolina should be reached, the inevitable eight to seven would decide that no inquiry should be permitted; and so it did.

A large majority of the American people believed in their hearts that Tilden was really the President who was elected at the polls, and the result of the Electoral Commission was received with various emotions. Some Republicans shook their heads, while others indulged in a smile over this gigantic specimen of successful trickery. The Democrats were indignant, and some threatened to delay the completion of the

count as the bottom of the alphabet was approached, by filibustering, until the country should be confronted with an interregnum ; but wiser counsels prevailed, and in the last week of February, Rutherford Hayes was declared President. One of his first acts was to withdraw the Federal troops from Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina, and leave to their well-deserved fate the carpet-bag governments whose certificates had raised him to the Presidency. Those wretched bodies had served a temporary purpose and might now be thrown overboard. Deprived of military support, they fell, and the Democratic governments which had certified to the votes for Tilden remained standing, strong in the support of their people. About a year afterward sundry cipher despatches were discovered, from persons in New York to members of the Republican returning boards soon after the election of November, 1876, seeking by bribes to persuade them to a course of action favorable to Tilden. For a moment the Republicans raised a feeble outcry over these despatches, seeking to ascribe them to Tilden's own instigation, so that they might be enabled to say unto their Democratic friends, "You're another !" It was satisfactorily shown, however, that Tilden had taken no part in these cipher negotiations.

Such is the story of the Electoral Commission. From one point of view, it is the foulest blot upon the fair fame of our country, and fit to make the blood of every honest American citizen boil with indignant shame ; but from another point of view, the story is highly creditable to the American people. Passions were roused to the highest pitch, and muttered threats of war were frequent. In some countries war could not have been avoided. Yet the American people, earnestly seeking a peaceful solution, devised its special tribunal of arbitration and accepted its decision with perfect good faith and loyalty, although a majority of the people believed that decision to be shamefully wrong and unjust. The story of that winter showed that the typical average American citizen is possessed of honesty and self-control to a very high degree.

It may be said of Hayes that he came to the Presidency under a cloud. Many people called him "usurper," or "the fraudulent President." But such taunts were simply absurd. Hayes had taken no part in the winter's trickery, and, if he rewarded some of his supporters injudiciously, there is no reason to suppose that he did not do so in entire good faith. Hayes was by no means wanting in ability and force, as his conflicts with Congress abundantly showed. He stoutly endeavored to free himself from the control which by insensible degrees Congressmen had acquired over Federal appointments. On the other hand,

Congress more than once attempted to force upon the President some political measure by making it a rider on an appropriation bill, and Hayes sternly vetoed all such attempts. Nevertheless, in the most important measure of his administration, he was thoroughly beaten by Congress, and the incident well illustrates the weakness of his position entailed by the manner in which he had come into the Presidency.

Perhaps the most deplorable of all the evils wrought by the civil war has been the demoralization due to the legal-tender act of 1862. Inflation of prices, reckless and dishonest speculation, extravagance in living, false standards of social ambition, moral callousness with regard to financial obligations—these and other ills have followed from that calamitous piece of legislation. From the first settlement of the country, the Americans have had so little personal experience of an absolutely sound currency—that sort of experience which every Englishman has from the cradle to the grave—that their minds have been in a chronic muddle on the subject of money, and it is vastly to our credit that we have any sound financial notions left. What with wampum, tobacco, fusel-oil whiskey, colonial bills of credit of first tenor, second tenor, and so on; what with Continental rag-money and the unredeemed scrip of the old thirteen states; what with greenbacks, silver certificates, and silver dollars worth less than forty cents, the story is indeed a grotesque one and dismal as the den of a mediaeval sorcerer, with its dark corners full of pendent newts and lizards and heaped high with dead men's bones.

In 1873 Congress passed an act demonetizing silver. Previous to that time, both gold and silver had been legal tender; and no harm was done, so long as the old ratio between their values remained steady, so that a silver dollar was really equivalent to a gold one. But with the increased output of silver-mines, as well as from other causes, silver presently began to decline and the old ratio was permanently disturbed. Then Congress proceeded to do the right thing when it took away the legal-tender character of silver and converted it into token-money. Had this wise statute been allowed to remain, the record of the last quarter of the nineteenth century would have been far brighter than it was. But that statute was in advance of the popular intelligence in the agricultural districts of our country, especially in the South and West. Such communities know very little about money and exchanges, whereas the inhabitants of great cities, especially on a seaboard, who have more or less direct dealings with other countries, are apt to acquire a practical knowledge of these subjects. Hence, in 1786, the Shays Rebellion in the interests of rag-money had its principal strength among

the farmers in the mountains of Worcester and Berkshire, but found few sympathizers in Boston or Salem. Similarly, in our days, the greenback and silver delusions have been rife in the West and South, while they have found but little support in seaports like New York or Philadelphia. In the years just following the civil war, the bucolic mind of America became athirst for cheap money. At first it was fascinated by greenbacks; then silver began to exert a potent charm as soon as the value of the silver dollar had dropped to ninety-two cents, so in 1878 Richard Parks Bland, one of the Representatives from Missouri, introduced the notorious "Bland bill," which provided that the



FIG. 92.—President James A. Garfield. (From a lithograph by W. J. Morgan. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

Secretary of the Treasury should purchase sufficient bullion to coin the minimum amount of \$2,000,000 a month in silver dollars of 412½ grains each, and that those dollars should be legal tender. This measure passed both the Democratic House and the Republican Senate and was promptly vetoed by President Hayes. It was then passed by both Houses over his veto and became law. Thus the wickedness wrought by the Electoral Commission was avenged upon a suffering country. If Tilden had been President, the Democratic House would probably never have passed the Bland bill; or if it had, it would surely not have passed it over the President's veto, for Tilden had his party well under control. But in the case of Hayes, it is certain that many

Democrats were far more eager to annoy him than to guard the interests of the country; while the Republican Senate was glad to snub the President, who was to some extent one of its own creating, and who had, moreover, offended it by his wise policy of conciliation toward the South. In this ignominious way was fastened upon the country that silver incubus of which the mischievous effects were destined to culminate in the panic of 1893.

As the time for the national conventions of 1880 drew near, an attempt was made to bring forward General Grant as candidate for a third term, and at the Republican convention in June he appeared on all the ballots of the first day as the leading candidate. His principal



FIG. 93.—President Chester Alan Arthur. (From a lithograph by Faber. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

antagonist was Blaine, and for thirty-five ballots the strength of the two remained relatively about the same; on the thirty-fifth ballot the name of Garfield began to assume prominence, and on the next ballot the Blaine forces went over to him, thus giving him the nomination. James Abram Garfield (Fig. 92) was, like Grant and Hayes, a native of Ohio. He had served with credit in the civil war, having at one time been chief-of-staff to Rosecrans. Since then he had won a national reputation during his career in Congress. He was a man of scholarly tastes, of imposing personal presence, and an effective orator. Associated with him as candidate for the Vice-Presidency was Chester Alan Arthur (Fig. 93), who had been collector of the port of New York.

The Democrats in their convention nominated Winfield Scott Hancock (Fig. 94) as their candidate for the Presidency. Tilden would have been a much stronger candidate, and his nomination might well have secured a victory for the Democrats; but his health was becoming feeble, and he declined to serve. Hancock had been one of the most distinguished generals in the Union army, and his nomination shut the mouths of those people who were accustomed to cry "Copperhead!" But, as a statesman, he was quite untrained. Discussions over the tariff were once more coming up, and the traditions of the Democratic party were all in favor of



FIG. 94.—General Winfield Scott Hancock. (From a lithograph by W. Smith. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

free trade; but their politicians were apt to handle the subject gingerly so as to avoid giving offence, and Hancock created much amusement by a speech in which he tried to brush away the tariff question as "merely a local issue." One of the comic papers shortly afterward had a cartoon representing the burly general as anxiously whispering behind his hand to a friend seated near him, "Who is Tariff? and why is he for revenue only?"

There was also a Greenback party in the field, with a candidate named Weaver, who obtained about 300,000 popular votes, but carried no state. Garfield and Hancock carried nineteen states each, but one

of the Garfield states was New York with its 35 votes. Garfield's total was 214 against Hancock's 155. The popular vote was very evenly divided; in a total of 8,884,985, Garfield's majority was only 915. Evidently the strength of the Democratic reaction had diminished but little, and it behooved the Republicans to be on their good behavior.

Garfield appointed Blaine as his Secretary of State. The first three months of the new administration were absorbed in petty disputes



FIG. 95.—Kicking Bear, a Sioux chief. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xiv.)

concerning appointments, more particularly in the case of the employees of the Senate. There had for some time been a feud between Blaine and Roscoe Conkling, one of the Senators from New York; and in the course of these disputes, Conkling took offence at the administration and resigned. His colleague, Thomas Platt, resigned with him. This affair combined with other points of difference to split the Republicans of New

York into two factions. The followers of the administration were called "Half-Breeds," those of Conkling were known as "Stalwarts," and these designations came for a short time to be applied to Republicans in other states. In general, the Stalwarts were what a European would call the extreme left of the Republican wing; they were the more inclined to draw public attention away from their shortcomings and peccadilloes by shaking their fists at the South, or, in the political slang of those days, "waving the bloody shirt." They tried to make people believe that they must either put up with Roscoe Conkling or else be content to see the Federal government in the hands of "rebel brigadiers." On the other hand, the Half-Breeds were disposed to be more moderate and conciliatory, or, as people then phrased it, to "shake hands across the bloody chasm."

On July 2, 1881, the country was startled by the news of the assassination of President Garfield. He was shot in a railway station in Washington by a half-crazy wretch who had failed to obtain some petty office and sought to wreak his vengeance upon the President. Garfield lingered between life and death until September 19, when he died. After the lapse of some months, the assassin's worthless life was ended on the gallows. The accession of Vice-President Arthur to the Chief Magistracy was soon followed by the resignation of Blaine and the appointment of Frederick Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, as Secretary of State. The only one of Garfield's Cabinet who was ultimately retained was the Secretary of War, Robert Lincoln, son of the great President. Arthur proved to be an able and dignified President, a thorough gentleman by nature, handsome and affable, frank and manly. His first message took up the subject of civil service reform, to which public attention had been painfully directed by the mournful fate of President Garfield. A bill for the better regulation of the civil service was brought in by George Hunt Pendleton, a Democratic Senator from Ohio, and soon passed both Houses. It provided for the filling of a large proportion of the public offices by competitive examinations, and it was faithfully executed by President Arthur. The remainder of this administration was chiefly occupied with questions concerning the reduction of the tariff, inasmuch as it was yielding more revenue than the government needed, thus tending to produce a vicious surplus.

As already observed, the situation was such that the Republicans needed to be wary and moderate; but their counsels were now dominated by the Stalwarts, and it was not in the nature of Stalwarts to be prudent. At the Republican convention in 1884, President Arthur was a candi-

date for re-election ; the Stalwarts found it in their power to ride over him with Blaine, now their leader, and they could not resist the temptation. Blaine was accordingly nominated ; and for the first time in the history of the United States, people were invited to choose for their President a man against whom many people entertained suspicions of dishonesty which had never been satisfactorily cleared up. For we may observe in passing, and with just pride as American citizens, that during the

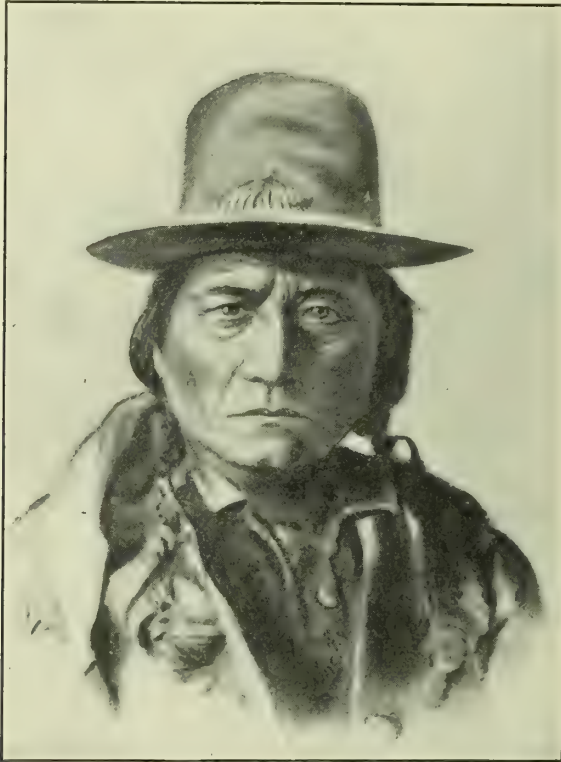


FIG. 96.—Sitting Bull, a Sioux chief. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. xiv.)

period of our national existence no man has yet occupied the White House whose moral character has ever been touched with the slightest breath of suspicion.

In Blaine's case there was a further element. Many persons who attached little weight to the charges of corruption believed, nevertheless, that his political aims and methods were unsound and reprehensible. It was not merely that he was a machine politician, for there is nothing necessarily blameworthy in that. Van Buren and Tilden were both

consummate masters of machine politics, yet their aims were uniformly broad and patriotic in the true sense of that much-abused adjective. But concerning Blaine, it was felt, whether rightly or wrongly, that he made use of politics for narrow and unworthy ends. Consequently the news of his nomination was instantly followed by an extensive bolt of politicians, newspapers, and voters from the Republican party. These bolters were looked upon by the Blaine men with ineffable scorn and loathing; they were derided as hypocritical saints for whom the world was not good enough, as gilt-edged statesmen, as "goody-goody" people, as "dudes," or popinjays swelling with conceit. It was hard to find in the English language a word sufficiently incisive to express the feelings of the regular Republicans toward the bolters. At length a suitable epithet was raked up from the ancient Algonquin dialect of Massachusetts. In Eliot's Indian Bible a chieftain, like Joshua or Abner or Joab, is called "Mugwump." This word had for more than two centuries remained in local use among white people in some of the coast-regions of Massachusetts and about Long Island Sound, with the sense of "a man of importance," and also, in Piekwickian phraseology, "a man as doesn't think small beer of hisself." In the hard-cider campaign of 1840, a certain self-important candidate for an office in Illinois was called "the great Mugwump." An Indianapolis paper once or twice used the word in the Grant-Greeley campaign of 1872. Finally, when it was used in 1884 by the *New York Sun* a few weeks before Blaine's nomination, the word seemed to suit the mood of the Stalwarts, and forthwith the obnoxious bolters were designated "Mugwumps."

The Democratic convention assembled in July and adopted a platform which evaded the general question of protective tariffs, but promised a reduction of duties and further reform of the civil service. In selecting a candidate, the Democrats showed more sense than in 1872. It was pretty well understood that if they should nominate a candidate of whom the Mugwumps could not approve, the latter were liable to put forward a candidate of their own; whereas, if the Democrats should nominate an unexceptionable candidate, the Mugwumps would support him. The choice accordingly fell upon Grover Cleveland (Fig. 97), who had been mayor of Buffalo and afterward governor of New York, and in those capacities had shown himself a clear-headed and courageous upholder of good government.

A third convention, composed of the lovers of greenbacks, put forward as its candidate Benjamin Butler; and there were also nomina-

tions made by a party which desired a universal prohibition of the sale of spirits, wine, and beer; and by a party which advocated woman suffrage.

The campaign was conducted with extreme bitterness and wholesale vituperation. The result was determined by the electoral vote of New York, and in that state the contest was so close that it took several days



FIG. 97.—President Grover Cleveland.

to determine the result. At length the official count of the votes of New York gave Cleveland a majority of 1149 in a total of 1,125,159. This result was at once accepted on all hands; but the intervening period of doubt had been an angry one, and from many quarters was heard the cry, "No more of your electoral commissions!" The moral of this affair is, that our method of choosing the President by an electoral college is much safer than the method which some persons advocate,

of choosing him by a direct popular vote. If people in 1884 had been obliged to wait in suspense until the votes of every town and every rural district from Maine to California had been counted, and then it had appeared (as might well be the case) that there was only a majority of a few hundred on either side in a total vote of about 10,000,000, it may be doubted if people would have acquiesced so willingly in the result. Places suspected of unsound practices, as in many negro parishes, or places remote from centres and little known, such as the Rattlesnake Gulches and Deadwoods, would at such times always be liable to furnish occasions for dispute. From this point of view, our electoral system minimizes the chances for controversy, and it is as fair to one side as to the other in the long run.

The principal acts in Cleveland's first administration were six in number: First, the Presidential succession bill, which, in case of the President's death or disability, named the Vice-President and the Secretaries of the departments in the chronological order of their establishment. Second, the electoral count act, providing against the recurrence of such a dangerous crisis as that which ensued upon the disputed election of Tilden. Third, the inter-state commerce act, which was designed to regulate or forbid discrimination and pooling on the part of competing railroads. Fourth, the organization of the civil service commission, for the purpose of carrying on the wholesome reform begun by President Arthur. Now, for the first time since John Quincy Adams left the White House, the accession of a new President was not attended by extensive changes in the civil service. Republican postmasters and revenue officers remained at their posts, requisitions upon office-holders for the benefit of a campaign fund were rigorously forbidden, and the President warned all office-holders against meddling with local politics. Cleveland was at heart a civil service reformer and an aggressive one, and in this kind of work he deserved well of the people, but he incurred the bitter hatred of politicians. The fifth feature of interest in this administration was the President's war against the kind of corruption shown in indiscriminate private pension bills. The legitimate business of granting pensions to disabled soldiers or to their wives and children necessarily called into requisition the services of many solicitors, attorneys, and other agents; and these people, in turn, were eager to extend their business and solicit as many pensions as possible. The thing became a positive nuisance and a prolific source of public corruption, when pensions were given to some woman who had married the grand-nephew of some worthless fellow who enlisted on receipt of a

bounty and then ran away to Canada ; or perhaps to some ruffian who had never smelt gunpowder, but, having had his nose broken by a blow with a stone jug in some gin-shop, came forward and swore that it was an old wound inflicted by some rebel sword at Gettysburg. Cleveland belonged to the class of men who take infinite pains. During his administration, private pension bills by the hundred passed both Houses of Congress and were poured in upon him to sign ; but he never signed one until he had thoroughly investigated the circumstances, and, if he was satisfied that they did not justify the pension, he vetoed the bill without pity. For this conscientious discharge of his duty he was roundly abused by partisan newspapers and called the enemy of the soldier.

The sixth conspicuous feature of Cleveland's administration was the beginning of a new movement for lowering the tariff. It will be remembered that the struggles over the tariff in the Jackson period had resulted in a gradual reduction, which reached its lowest point in the tariff of 1857. At that time very little desire was expressed among manufacturers for a higher tariff, except by a few persons in Pennsylvania. When the Republicans raised the tariff in 1861, it was avowedly done as a war measure ; and it was supposed on all hands that after the immediate needs created by the war should have passed, the tariff would be lowered. But it is characteristic of the tariff habit, as of the alcohol habit, that the more you get, the more you crave. When artificial advantages are offered to a certain kind of business, the tendency is to attract more people into that business, so that there is soon more production in that department than the market wants. The result is, that the favored business suffers ; and the more it suffers, the more it seeks relief in a repetition of the same process : more favor, and again more favor, at the hands of government. The moral is, when you see a class of manufacturers calling for more protection, you may know for certain that they have got too much protection already. During the decade preceding the civil war, as just observed, but few calls for protection were heard ; but when once the toper has become well soaked, he shouts lustily for another dram. So the tariff went on increasing its rates until they reached an average of 50 per cent. or more, while there were articles of commerce upon which the duty was five or six times as great as the original cost. To crown all, a persistent tariff war was waged against such indispensable means of higher education as foreign books and works of art. After the war the demoralized Democratic party was timid on the subject of the tariff, and recreant to its old traditions ; it was apt in its platforms to try to evade the subject ; while, on the other

hand, that portion of the Republican party which had in earlier days belonged to the Democratic party gradually fell back to its old allegiance, leaving the Republican party more and more Whig in its tendencies. Thus the Republicans showed considerable boldness in increasing the tariff, while the Democrats paltered with the question. But in Cleveland's time, hesitation would no longer do. The surplus in the Federal Treasury amounted to more than \$140,000,000. Such a surplus is a source of demoralization, for it is sure to prove an irresistible temptation to extravagance. Hitherto the undue increase of revenue had been met by the abolition of the direct war taxes until scarcely any internal excise remained except that upon alcoholic beverages and tobacco, the removal of which would be generally condemned by public opinion, and justly. In his first message Cleveland advocated the reduction of duties, and two years later he devoted his entire message to that subject, denouncing the existing tariff as a "vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation." In response to this message a new tariff measure, introduced by Roger Quarles Mills, a Representative from Texas, was passed by the House. Its most significant and wholesome feature was the removal of the duty on wool. The finance committee of the Senate attempted to introduce a substitute for this measure, by reducing the sugar duty and repealing the excise on tobacco. Discussions over the subject lasted until the end of Cleveland's term, and the Mills bill failed to pass.

In the Democratic convention of 1888, Cleveland was renominated by a simple resolution, without balloting. It was generally supposed that his competitor would once more be Blaine; but that gentleman refused to let his name be used, and the nomination fell to Benjamin Harrison (Fig. 98), of Indiana, grandson of the President who was elected in 1840. As usual in recent times, the election was decided by the vote of New York. There was a Democratic faction in that state which had become greatly disgusted with Cleveland's energetic measures of civil service reform. Both as governor and as President, he had refused to play into their hands, and now they had their revenge. By a bargain between some of the Democratic and Republican wire-pullers, the vote of New York was carried for Harrison, who thus won the election with 233 electoral votes against 168 for Cleveland. The popular vote for Cleveland was larger than for Harrison; the former had 5,536,242, the latter had 5,440,708. There were also in the field tickets by Prohibitionists and others, which received a few votes. In Congress the Republicans showed a slender majority in both Houses. This majority

was, however, soon increased by admitting to the Union four new states—the two Dakotas, with Montana and the state which had once been lucidly designated Washington Territory, but which now absurdly retained the name Washington, thus making some qualifying phrase necessary whenever one alludes to it.

The chief object of the Republican majority in Congress was to reduce the surplus in the Treasury, so that there might be no excuse for lowering tariff duties. The new tariff bill introduced by William McKinley, of Ohio, went further in its protectionist policy than any other measure which had preceded it in the course of our history. Many of the duties were so high as to furnish a check upon importa-

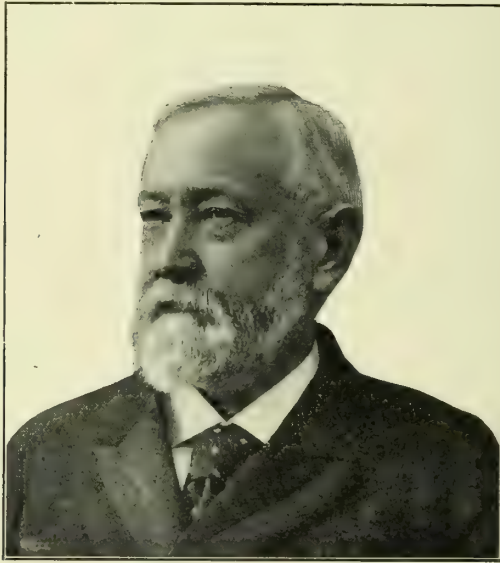


FIG. 98.—President Benjamin Harrison. (From photograph by Pach Bros., New York.)

tion and thus diminish revenue. Another way of reducing the surplus was by making extravagant appropriations, and to such an extent was this carried that this Congress earned the nickname of the "Billion-dollar Congress." Perhaps the worst of all these measures was the great and deliberate increase in the passing of private pension bills, in which President Harrison exerted no such restraining hand as his predecessor had done. Pensions were recklessly granted until the amount of revenue thus disposed of was enough to maintain a great standing army like those which are kept up by the governments of Europe. Among all forms of political corruption there are few more pernicious than the profuse and indiscriminate granting of pensions,

for in many cases they are practically nothing less than bribes to insure political support ; and more than one scarred and weatherbeaten veteran has been heard to declare that, in these days, to accept a pension was no longer compatible with self-respect.

These acts did not meet with popular approval, and by the higher intelligence and conscience of the nation they were emphatically condemned. It was becoming apparent that over and above all economic objections to protective tariffs, in that they furnish a most wasteful means of raising revenue ; over and above the objection that they constitute a formidable method of taxation which is to the popular mind invisible, so that it does not encounter that wholesome resistance to taxation which is the only sound guarantee of national economy ; over and above the legal objection that they are infractions of the Constitution, which never gave to Congress any power to levy taxes for any other object than revenue ; over and above the moral objection that protective tariffs are really legalized robbery, since no power on earth has any moral right to make me pay twice the normal price for my coat in order to benefit some woolen-manufacturer ;—over and above all these it was becoming apparent, as a further and fatal objection, that it is contrary to all sound public policy to have the rise and fall of prices dependent upon the result of each Congressional election. It was observed that Republican political managers would go about obtaining benevolences from rich manufacturers, a transaction which was jocosely termed “frying the fat out of the manufacturers.” This money was of course used for campaign purposes, and it was well understood that after a Republican success at the polls the Congress newly elected would seek to reward these benevolent manufacturers by enacting a tariff which in turn would “fry the fat” out of the people. Thus the protectionist policy might well become, and has indeed long since become, an engine of corruption as insidious and poisonous as the spoils system.

Another measure which passed the House of Representatives, but failed to pass the Senate, recalls the high-handed days of the two-thirds' majority in the time of President Johnson. This was a bill for regulating Federal elections, and it was commonly known as the “Force Bill.” The cause of its defeat in the Senate has been attributed to the defection of certain Republican Senators who favored silver, in exchange for aid rendered to that metal by certain Democrats.

If the silver question thus worked our deliverance from such an atrocious measure as the Force Bill, it is so far entitled to our thanks. It was quite otherwise when the advocates of free silver and the advocates

of a high tariff had an opportunity to roll logs together. The support of sundry silver men was given to high-tariff principles, in return for which sundry high-tariff men cast their votes in the interests of owners of silver-mines. In 1890 an act introduced by John Sherman, Senator from Ohio, went so far beyond the Bland bill of 1878 as to make compulsory the purchase of not less than 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion by the United States government each month. In payment for this bullion the Federal Treasury was to issue notes which were made a legal tender in business transactions, but were redeemable in coin by the Treasury on demand. The effect of this act, which would have received Cleveland's veto had he then been President, was to hasten the coming-on of the commercial crisis which intelligent economists had for several years foreseen as the inevitable result of the pernicious Bland bill.

The Congressional elections of 1890 reflected the feelings with which the country regarded these performances of the billion-dollar Congress. In the new House of Representatives the Democrats had a majority of very nearly three-fourths. Even the New England states sent more Democrats than Republicans to Congress. The next two years, however, were comparatively uneventful and witnessed little important legislation except in the international copyright act of 1891, which gave to foreign authors, under certain prescribed conditions, permission to have their books copyrighted in the United States. The measure was an imperfect one, being altogether too much tainted with protectionism, but it was a great improvement upon the previous state of miscellaneous piracy which had made the name of the United States a hissing and reproach among the nations.

In the Presidential canvass of 1892 the opposing candidates were again Cleveland and Harrison, while there were two or three other tickets embodying the views of cranks of various complexions. The result was the election of Cleveland by 277 votes against 145 for Harrison and 22 for the candidate of the People's party, otherwise known as Populists. The popular vote for Cleveland was 5,556,543; for Harrison, 5,175,582; while Weaver, the Populist candidate, received 1,040,886.

If the billion-dollar Congress had deliberately acted upon the motto, "After us the deluge!" it could not have planned things more astutely than it did. The financial storm which had been gathering since 1878, and which had been heralded by the blackest of thunder-clouds since 1890, burst upon the country at the beginning of 1893, so that the first official act of the incoming President was to call an extra session of

Congress for the purpose of repealing the silver-purchase clause of the Sherman act. After a contest of three weeks in the House of Representatives and of more than two months in the Senate, the President's policy prevailed and the nefarious clause was repealed. It was far too late, however, to undo the evil that had been done. The policy of extinguishing the surplus had been so successful that the Treasury was threatened with a deficit under circumstances which it was feared might lead to a suspension of gold payments, throwing everything on to a silver basis. The want of confidence in business circles due to this dread was the chief element in the crisis of 1893. But it always takes time, after such a breakdown, to recover that confidence which is essential to the proper transaction of business. Of our acute financial crises the briefest was that of 1857, when there was a low tariff and a currency for which no immediate fears were entertained. On the other hand, in 1873, with an inconvertible paper currency, the length and severity of the distress were beyond all precedent, and good times did not return until after the resumption of specie payments in 1879. As to the crisis of 1893, it came at a time when tariff-juggling and currency-juggling were going on hand in hand in such fashion that no merchant could safely forecast what the conditions of business were likely to be during the next coming year, and consequently that panic was prolonged until the time of the next Presidential canvass.

Cleveland's tariff-reform policy found expression in the Wilson tariff bill, which was promptly passed by the House of Representatives, but had a discreditable career in the Senate. It furnished a good illustration of the extent to which one of the most pernicious forms of local corruption had invaded our national government. It is well known that in such cities as New York, where the municipal government has long been a festering mass of corruption, it has become exceedingly difficult to rectify any abuse because the political managers of the two opposing parties will combine with each other to sustain it. The machinery of party politics was originally devised for the purpose of carrying on contests between bodies of men who represented opposing political principles, antagonistic views of the public good; but things have long since been so changed that in our time that political machinery is worked mainly to secure certain advantages of money or position or influence to those who work it, while, for aught they care, the public good may go to the devil. So it was with the Wilson bill as amended in the Senate. There was so much log-rolling between various Republican and Democratic Senators for the purpose of currying favor with divers local

interests that when the bill came before the President it was maimed and disfigured almost beyond recognition. In some respects it richly deserved a veto; nevertheless, it had one great merit in making wool free of duty, and to veto it would be to leave the McKinley tariff standing. So Cleveland allowed it to become law by lapse of time without affixing to it his signature. Various matters that came up during this administration foreshadowed the policy of expansion upon which the United States seems now to have entered. There was an attempt at the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands, which the President thwarted for a time; and the renewal of military proceedings in Cuba, as will be narrated in a future chapter, led to a growing feeling in the United States that the Cuban patriots ought to be supported and the high-handed proceedings of Spanish proconsuls put down. In this matter Cleveland preserved an attitude of strict neutrality, for which he was roundly berated by many Cuban sympathizers and especially by the Jingoese of Congress and the press. By this time there had come to be quite a number of people who wished to draw public attention away from the vital questions of tariff, currency, and civil-service reform by picking a quarrel with somebody—it mattered little who—and getting up a war. Most absurd and wicked talk about nations needing a periodic blood-letting was indulged in by men who ought to know better. To some of these Jingoese their occasion seemed to have come when a long-standing boundary-dispute between Venezuela and Great Britain came conspicuously into the foreground. It was the game of these Jingoese to yell for war with Great Britain, while denouncing the conservative President as timorous and unpatriotic. But Cleveland quickly divined the situation and deprived these fire-eaters of their stage thunder by sending to Congress a message which carried the Monroe Doctrine to greater lengths than had ever before been dreamed of. Its tone was so aggressive that for a moment war with Great Britain loomed up as a possibility and business was quite paralyzed. For a while it seemed to many people that Cleveland had for once lost his sagacity; but it now seems probable that he saw that by taking the Jingo card into his own hand he could keep it under control, while, if left to the unscrupulous hotheads to play, there was no telling to what lengths the mischief might go. If this be the true explanation, his act was statesmanlike. In point of fact, the negotiations with Great Britain, in the skillful hands of Richard Olney, Secretary of State, soon became so amicable as to lead to a treaty of general arbitration, under which all disputed questions that might hereafter arise between the United States and Great Britain should be sub-

mitted to a permanent international tribunal. This noble treaty was very discredibly rejected by the Senate ; but it stands, nevertheless, as one of the great landmarks in the history of civilization and as one of the most memorable achievements of American diplomacy.

Among the events of Cleveland's second administration, the admission of Utah to the Union should not be omitted. This admission had long been hindered by the prevalence of polygamy among the Mormon population of Utah. More than sixty years ago, a man named Joseph Smith produced a book which he said had been revealed to him by supernatural means. This book was called the Book of Mormon. It contains a mixture of narrative, of prophecy, and of precepts and oburgations, and in its general style is a very crude imitation of the Old Testament. As is often the case, it would appear that Smith's supernatural instructor was not infallible, inasmuch as the book mentions iron-working, silk-making, and European cattle in North America within the historic period and before Columbus. Such blunders sufficiently stamp the book in the eyes of any scholar ; but Smith's appeal was to uncultivated minds, and he soon founded a religious sect which made its headquarters at Nauvoo in the state of Illinois. This community was unpopular in the neighborhood, and in 1844 Smith and some of his friends were killed by a mob. Shortly afterward the Mormons were expelled from Illinois ; but presently, under the lead of Brigham Young, they made a long exodus to the shores of the Great Salt Lake. The look of the place was not promising, but there were those in the company who saw that by bringing in sluices the melted snow from the lofty peaks in the neighborhood, an admirable system of irrigation might be maintained throughout the year. Thus the desert was transformed into a garden of surpassing beauty ; and for a long time the polygamous community there established might regard itself as secure in its isolation. Waves of migration swept past it into California, but seldom disturbed its quiet. At length, in 1867, the Union Pacific Railroad passed through the northern portion of the valley at Ogden, and by degrees the settling of the neighboring territories and the formation of new states encompassed the Mormons until by 1890 the Mormons were beginning to find themselves outnumbered in their own precincts by those whom they call Gentiles. In 1882 Congress passed an anti-polygamy act, under which many Mormons were fined and imprisoned. The Mormon Church had acquired vast wealth, but this was confiscated by Congress in 1887. But before this time the founder of Mormon polygamy, Brigham Young, had passed from the scene. He died in

1877, leaving seventeen wives, sixteen sons, and twenty-eight daughters; he had been the father of fifty-six children. When he first announced polygamy as a tenet of the Mormon Church, he professed that a revelation commanding it had been received by Joseph Smith; but Smith's widow and four sons declared that they had never heard of any such revelation. Moreover, polygamy is expressly forbidden in the Book of Mormon, and upon Young's announcement in 1852 quite a number of Mormons left the church and undertook to set up a separate establishment under one of Smith's sons. A way was open, therefore, for the Mormon Church to retreat from the position which it had assumed under Young, and in 1890, in view of the measures of Congress, that church issued an edict forbidding polygamous marriages. Thus the principal objection to the administration of Utah to the Union was held to have been removed, and in 1896 her admission was accomplished. It is probable that with the general advance of civilization the Mormons will be gradually submerged by the increase of the Gentile population.

As already observed, the chief causes of the financial distress in Cleveland's second administration were the rapid depletion of the Treasury by the billion-dollar Congress, combined with the destruction of confidence in the circulating medium due to the Sherman act of 1890. The evils were so deep-seated that the mere repeal of the silver-purchase clause could not be expected to heal them in a moment. In 1894 a new depressing circumstance was added. All over the globe the crop of wheat was quite unprecedented for size. It was impossible for the human race to consume all the wheat that it raised that year, and so the price fell to less than fifty cents a bushel. The farmers of our wheat-producing states were consequently impoverished, and joined in the cry which is always raised in hard times, the cry for cheap money. Such people seem to think that if money were only cheaper there would be "enough to go around," and that somehow a part of it would find its way into their pockets; quite overlooking the fact that if the value of a dollar were to be reduced by half, it would only buy half as much as before. They entertain droll fancies because their experience of money and exchange is so slight. Such people are the ready prey of the demagogues who are in league with the owners of silver-mines. So it was in 1896. The talismanic virtues of silver were loudly proclaimed. We were told that the great panacea for the ills of the time would be the unlimited coinage of silver at the rate of sixteen ounces to one ounce of gold. In reality, such a silver dollar would have been worth about

forty cents, which was just what the silver men wanted. They would have felt no interest whatever in any scheme which aimed at equalizing for the moment the white and the yellow coin. The subtle charm lay in the proffered opportunity of paying one's debts at forty cents on the dollar. There were many advocates of silver, however, who were perfectly honest, but more or less puzzle-headed or dull. They believed that if Congress were in its omnipotence to call a piece of metal a dollar, it must be so; as one Western newspaper airily declared, "Intrinsic value don't count." What can be expected from people who can read the legend on one of our so-called silver dollars and not be struck with the blasphemy of declaring our trust in God upon a piece of metal which embodies the falsehood that forty is equal to a hundred?

The question as to the free coinage of silver had not been made a party question between Republicans and Democrats, for the politicians in both parties were waiting to see which way the wind was likely to blow. In 1888 the platform upon which Harrison was nominated assailed President Cleveland for his hostility to free silver, but by 1896 the Republican managers had the sagacity to see that a free-silver policy would be likely to lose more votes than it gained. Accordingly, in constructing their national platform, they took a decided stand in condemning the policy of free coinage; they planted themselves firmly upon a gold basis, hoping thereby to drive the Democratic convention in the opposite direction. They then proceeded to nominate as their candidate William McKinley, the sponsor of the highly protective McKinley tariff. His record on the silver question, like that of many other members of his party, especially in the Mississippi valley and in the far West, had been by no means so aggressive and pronounced as were the professions of the platform. He had shown friendliness for the silverites, and on this occasion he was at first inclined to close his eyes to the question of the currency, and to put protectionism forward as the issue of the contest. But the real issue proved to be that of free silver, and presently the Republican candidate raised the standard provided by those who were scornfully named "Gold Bugs."

The Democratic convention did precisely what its worst enemies could have wished. It sacrificed principle to mole-eyed policy, threw overboard all the sound and time-honored traditions of the Democratic party, declared itself in favor of free silver, and chose for its candidate one William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, a Populist who had scarcely been heard of outside of his own neighborhood. Some time afterward the Populists held a convention and also nominated Bryan.

The Democratic platform, besides espousing free silver, contained a clause which was generally felt to be anarchical and dangerous. In 1894 a strike of railroad employees in Chicago had been attended by riots in which a considerable amount of property was destroyed and in which there was at length an attempt to interfere with the carrying of the United States mail. This led to the suppression of the riot by Federal soldiery, a most wholesome act for which the Democratic platform now denounced President Cleveland.

A saving remnant of Democrats, who were beyond measure disgusted with these stupid and contemptible bids for the ignorant vote, held a convention at Indianapolis, under the style of "National Democrats." This convention adopted a platform espousing the gold standard with decidedly stronger emphasis than the Republican platform. It also declared itself in favor of the complete separation of the government from banking; it advocated reform of the currency, condemned the policy of protectionism, and demanded the repeal of our abominable navigation laws. It pithily declared that "the Democratic party has survived defeats, but could not survive a victory won in behalf of the doctrine and policy proclaimed in its name at Chicago." Upon this excellent platform the National Democrats nominated two excellent candidates: for President, John McCauley Palmer, of Illinois, who had won very high distinction as a general on the Union side in the civil war. But Palmer was more than a mere soldier; he had a broad and intelligent comprehension of public questions, and was beyond all comparison the ablest and strongest of the candidates nominated that year for the chief office. The candidate associated with him for the Vice-Presidency was Simon Bolivar Buckner, of Kentucky, the Confederate general who surrendered Fort Donelson to Grant. This was also an admirable selection, and the combination of Palmer and Buckner proclaimed the completeness with which the old breach between North and South had been healed.

It was not to be expected that the National Democrats, with their sound principles and excellent candidates, should accomplish much in the election of 1896. They obtained no electoral votes, and can hardly be supposed to have expected any. Their object was to maintain an organization and assert principles for which they were prepared to suffer defeat once and again, knowing that in the long run the right cause will triumph. Their appearance in 1896 had a similar significance to that of the Free-Soilers in 1848, as time will probably ere long demonstrate. The result of the election was a very heavy majority for McKinley.

The electoral vote stood 271 for McKinley to 176 for Bryan ; of popular votes McKinley had 7,111,607, and Bryan had 6,509,052. As for Palmer, the total for him was 134,645. The vote for the Prohibition candidate, Joshua Levering, of Maryland, was about the same as Palmer's.

Among the domestic acts of this McKinley administration, the most important was one which in a considerable measure strengthened the currency and placed it more securely than before upon a gold basis. The other was the so-called Dingley tariff of 1897, which in regard to protectionism out-Heroded Herod. But questions of foreign policy suddenly came up, which seem likely to have marked the beginning of an entirely new era in the development of the United States. To our intervention in the affairs of Cuba, and to the consequent final ousting of Spain from the hemisphere which was discovered under her auspices, our attention will be directed in a future chapter.

CHAPTER V.

LIFE, SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND ART.

THE beginning of the twentieth century finds the United States with a population of about 75,000,000 in America ; if we include her possessions in the Philippines, of nearly 85,000,000. Were we to divide our history into three periods, the first one would end with the outbreak of war against Louis XIV. in 1689. After that date, one cannot with real propriety speak of early American history. Our population in 1689 was not far from 200,000. The middle period may be said to have extended just a century, down to the inauguration of our present government under the Constitution. At the end of that period our population had reached nearly 4,000,000. At that time the centre of population lay a little east of Baltimore. In 1800 it was on the meridian of Washington ; in 1830 it was just below the thirty-ninth parallel in what is now West Virginia, due south from the western boundary of Maryland ; at the outbreak of the civil war it had crossed the Ohio River and had nearly reached the sixth meridian west of Washington ; the census of 1890 found it in the southeastern corner of Indiana, somewhat north of the thirty-ninth parallel ; from that point it is perhaps as likely to recede for a time as to go on steadily advancing, inasmuch as the westward migration of people finds a barrier at the Pacific coast-line, while the population of our great Eastern cities is advancing more rapidly than ever before. Never before has any century witnessed a national development so rapid and solid, as far as numbers are concerned, as this growth of the United States. Similar phenomena, indeed, have been witnessed in other civilized nations. The increase in France, Germany, and Russia, as well as in Great Britain, has been much greater than in any previous century. For example, the population of England in Elizabeth's time was about 5,000,000. Two hundred years later, in 1800, it had reached 9,000,000 ; but the year 1900 finds it nearly 30,000,000. As regards the number of persons speaking English in the world, at the beginning of the nineteenth century it was but little over 12,000,000 ; at the end, it was more than 120,000,000. Thus in this brief interval, such as is within the span of a single long lifetime, the English race has increased tenfold.

Among the chief agencies which have made this rapid expansion possible may be named the railroad, the steamship, and the telegraph. The men who framed our Constitution scarcely looked forward to a time when the United States would extend west of the Mississippi River; and one of them, Nathaniel Gorham, laughed to scorn the idea that the government which they were establishing might perhaps last for a century and a half. Jefferson on one occasion predicted the overflow of population into the vast Louisiana territory, and added that a nation would probably grow up there which in course of time would be detached from the United States. It seemed to him impracticable and undesirable for such extensive areas to be under a single government. But railroads and telegraphs have changed all that, since we can now go from Maine to Oregon in less time than it took John Hancock to go from Boston to New York, and since we can flash a message around the world in less time than it took that worthy to send one from Beacon Hill to Harvard College. In the first chapter of Volume XXI. attention was called to Lewis Morgan's profound classification of the stages of human culture. It will be remembered that his upper period of barbarism began with the smelting of iron, and his period of civilization started with the invention of the alphabet, or, at all events, of written language, for surely the hieroglyphics and arrow-headed inscriptions which have preserved for us the knowledge of Egypt and Babylonia as those countries were more than seventy centuries ago deserve to be ranked along with true alphabetic writing. The city of Nippur, recently unearthed in Lower Babylonia, was an abode of truly civilized life not less than nine thousand years ago, and within its precincts have been found voluminous libraries of inscribed tablets which the scholar of to-day can read. Unquestionably, since the nameless time when Nippur was first founded, there has been no such passing from an old era into a new one as that which the nineteenth century has witnessed. At its beginning the sciences of geology, biology, chemistry, and molecular physics were in their callow infancy; of electricity, but the veriest rudiments were imperfectly understood; the study of philology and the various historical sciences was in a similar inchoate condition. One effect of the sudden and vast development in all these branches of thought has been to broaden men's minds, to make them more hospitable to new ideas and less tenacious of old prejudices, while it has become easier for people of most diverse training to meet on a common ground. Other effects, of a more material character, but implicated in countless ways with social and intellectual progress, have been wrought by various applications of the sciences of chemistry

and molecular physics, especially in the department of electricity. The first of these results was the utilization of steam as a motor power, which before the middle of the nineteenth century had revolutionized nearly all



FIG. 99.—Samuel Finley Breese Morse.

departments of human labor. If we were to characterize after Morgan's fashion the new era upon which we are entering, we might perhaps fairly describe it as the era in which man has discovered how to create for himself motor power. The aboriginal American had to get along

without any motor power except such as he had in his own arms and legs, and for tools he had only a few rude hatchets and clubs, spears and arrows of stone. After the middle period of barbarism in the Old World came in, man appropriated for his own uses such motor power as could be got from horses and oxen, or, in some countries, elephants and camels; and obviously, from the war-chariot of ancient Nineveh dragged by horses, down to the modern stage-coach, there was no essential difference witnessed as compared with the gigantic steps from the stage-coach to the railway-train. This yoking of the blind forces of physical nature into the service of reason, to minister unto man's needs, is distinctively a mark of the grandest era that has dawned upon mankind.

The introduction of steam and its application to the all-important processes of spinning and weaving belonged to the eighteenth century and to our mother-country. The revolution in industrial occupations was already strongly setting in by the year 1800 and was materially aided by one of the most notable of the early American inventions, that of the cotton-gin by Eli Whitney. The completed invention of the steamboat by Robert Fulton (Fig. 2) in 1806 was a factor of primary importance in peopling our Western states; and a similar function was afterward discharged on a much grander scale by railroads. The honor of inventing the locomotive and applying it to the drawing of cars upon rails belongs to England; but after the introduction of railroads into the United States in 1831, they underwent a more rapid and extensive development in this country than anywhere else upon the globe.

The most wonderful of all the sources of power discovered and utilized within our century is electricity, but it is only in the latter part of the period that it has been found to be efficient as a motor on a large scale. I remember hearing it plausibly demonstrated by a learned professor in 1862 that it might be found advantageous to use electricity for small household operations, such as pumping water or moving dumb-waiters, but that it would never be possible to move heavy machinery or propel cars by such an agency. The learned professor had forgotten Hosea Biglow's prudent advice, "Don't never prophesy unless ye know." The first great triumph of physics in regard to electricity was the invention of the telegraph, which is usually ascribed to Samuel Morse (Fig. 99), but was in reality the result of a series of steps taken by Oersted in Denmark, Wheatstone in England, and Joseph Henry at Washington, D. C., until Morse came and added a finishing touch to the work. There seem to be reasons why in strict justice the name of Joseph Henry (Fig. 100) should be ranked foremost in this group.

The combination of steam railway and electric telegraph has made it possible for a given territory to support a much larger population than before. Minnesota wheat and Texas cattle are much nearer the New York market to-day than the wheat and cattle raised at Poughkeepsie were a hundred years ago. The first and most striking effect of railroads was to accelerate the process of taking up lands in the far West; and it was not many years before the Western crops competed victoriously with those of the rural parts of New York and New England, so that the



FIG. 100.—Joseph Henry. (From an engraving by G. R. Hall.)

farmers of these older regions were obliged in various ways to change their operations.

In filling up the great Western territory thus made accessible, our natural increase of population was powerfully reinforced by a strong and steady immigration of people from the Old World. This movement began to assume large proportions soon after 1840, and was a direct consequence of the progress of mechanical invention. In 1840 an Irish physicist, Dionysius Lardner, came to this country and went about delivering lectures which were found very entertaining and instructive. In one of these lectures he proved to his own satisfaction that steam navigation between Europe and America would prove impracticable,

because in attempting such a voyage a steamer would have to carry so much fuel that no room would be left for passengers or freight. Nevertheless, the problem had already been solved. Trips across the Atlantic began to be made in 1838, and the Cunard Line began running its steamers at regular intervals in 1840. These steamers at first used paddle-wheels, but soon afterward the invention of the screw propeller by John Ericsson gave a powerful impetus to ocean navigation, besides facilitating the application of steam to ships of war. The increased facilities for crossing the ocean contributed with causes operating in Europe to determine a mighty stream of immigration toward this country. The first people to come in large numbers were the Irish, impelled at first by the failure of the potato crop and consequent famine of 1845. Arriving in this country, these immigrants, mostly of the peasant class, found employment in such manual labor as that of breaking stone, carrying mortar, etc., while the women were employed as domestic servants. One result of this change was the relinquishment of the cruder forms of manual labor and the abandonment of domestic service by native Americans, especially in cities. In course of time the standard of living among the Irish was notably raised, and they came to take an extensive part in business operations of every sort, professional and industrial, while manual labor came to be more and more relegated to groups of people more recently imported from the Old World, such as Italians and Poles, or in some instances by people of French descent, from Canada. A good instance of the demagoguery of the middle of the century is furnished by the fact that Democratic leaders captured the entire Irish vote by spreading abroad the idea that if the Southern negroes should ever be emancipated, they would at once flock into the Northern states and work for lower wages than the Irish.

One of the most potent agencies in driving population from the continent of Europe to the New World is the desire of escaping compulsory military service, to which may be added the hope of getting better wages, and also in a few cases, mostly in the East of Europe, the desire to escape religious persecution. Our immense stretches of unsettled land, the liberality of our political institutions, and the general comfort which pervades the country, have constituted powerful attractions. The whole movement has been greatly helped by our easy naturalization laws.

The immense scale upon which farming has come to be conducted has necessitated the application of machinery to agriculture. Such operations as ploughing, threshing, and harrowing are now almost

universally performed by machines. So, too, with domestic operations. The houses of most of the people may be said to be furnished by machinery. Carpets, tables, and chairs, most of the implements and appliances of the household, are turned out in great numbers by manufacturing. In the making of boots and shoes quite a number of patented machines are used. There are few well-to-do households which have not a sewing-machine, the original form of which was patented by Elias Howe in 1845; and there is no office or store of any importance which has not its typewriting-machine, the use of which dates from about 1873. Plumbing, moreover, furnishes numerous illustrations of the difference between domestic comfort at the begin-



FIG. 101.—Alexander Graham Bell.

ning and at the close of the century. Fifty years ago the best houses had a bath-room, supplied from a tank near the top of the house; to-day it is not unusual for a house to have two or three bath-rooms with bowls, shower-baths, and other appliances, in the construction of which no mean amount of scientific knowledge is required. If we add to these the modern range with its boiler, the modern refrigerators for preserving perishable foods, the electric lighting which is fast superseding the use of gas, as the latter within the memory of men still living superseded coal-oils and other burning-fluids, which in their turn superseded the old spermaceti candles and whale-oil; if, moreover, we recall the progression from the Franklin stove to the anthracite stove,

and thence to the diabolical devices of hot-air furnaces and steam radiators, to the modern and wholesome system of indirect hot-water heating, we shall be struck with the amount of scientific achievement that has gone into the work of securing domestic salubrity and comfort.

One point may be noted in passing. The rise of the general standard of comfort and the wholesale manufacture of furniture has tended to lower the artistic quality of modern furniture and to debase the standard of taste. In former times, when chairs and sofas, clocks and bedsteads, were made only by hand and to satisfy the demand of a few cultivated people, they received an amount of care and thought that is hardly possible with articles turned out by the hundred in factories. The old cabinet-makers and those who fashioned silver or pottery were apt to be men of much higher and broader education than the average manufacturers of our time, and most of the finer kinds of handicraft were treated more or less as branches of the fine arts. The climax of democratic ugliness was probably reached about the middle of the century; but toward the end of the third quarter there was a reaction, starting perhaps with the reaction in favor of antique things which was powerfully stimulated by the Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia in 1876. Familiarity with more artistic models has been rapidly improving the public standards of taste.

The briefest survey of material progress would be incomplete without the mention of the electric telephone invented by Alexander Graham Bell (Fig. 101), which began to come into use in 1877, and of the phonograph and other marvellous inventions of Thomas Alva Edison (Fig. 102). Along with this should be mentioned the electric railway, first used in 1888, which has already done something toward dispersing the crowded populations of great cities over suburban spaces to greater and greater distances, thus relieving great business centres of their congestion. This tendency is also helped by the use of the bicycle, which not only makes it easier to get from one's house to one's work, but necessitates the improvement of country roads. Until toward the end of the century, very few Americans who had not visited Europe had ever seen such a thing as a good road. The only fairly good ones were the turnpikes in the New England states and in the immediate neighborhood of a few great cities. Even within the limits of some of our foremost cities, as for example St. Louis and Philadelphia, good roads were not to be found until the last decade of the century. In Chicago the streets are still very badly made. But of late years there has been a vast improvement in road-making in many parts of the country. When one visits England, the

question is forcibly suggested whether the greater proportion of country homes and the keener interest felt in country life is not partly due to the excellence of English roads. From this point of view, the invention of the bicycle as a pioneer of the macadamizer may be regarded as an important step in civilization.

If from this very imperfect mention of some points in material progress we turn to consider some points connected with general culture, our thoughts may for a moment revert to the early days of New England. The Puritan theory of life, which required that everybody should be able to read the Bible, made the school as necessary a part of



FIG. 102.—Thomas Alva Edison. (From photograph by Falk, New York.)

each community as the meeting-house. All parents were required to send their children to school, and all contributed to its support. Thus originated that system of free schools to which Americans always refer as one of the chief sources of the greatness of our country. The system has developed until it undertakes to provide higher education as well as that which is elementary; what Hosea Biglow used to call "three-story larnin'" has become fashionable in all but the smallest communities. We even have Latin schools and schools of science established and maintained at the expense of the taxpayers. The benefits accruing from this system are manifold and obvious, but it is undeniable that it has also some objectionable features, as when state authori-

ties take it upon them to prescribe what opinions shall be taught and what not, concerning difficult scientific questions about which neither boards of education nor teachers in schools are competent to express any opinion at all. Of late years, for example, it has been customary to insert in text-books of physiology a section or chapter setting forth the alleged effects of alcohol upon the human organism. That happens to be a really abstruse question in physiology; a question about which some of the greatest living men of science, like Sir Lauder Brunton or Sir Michael Foster, would hesitate and use many qualifying words in expressing an opinion; but these school-books, got up perhaps by third-rate doctors to eke out their meagre incomes, do not hesitate to commit themselves to statements some of which are probably false and many of which are inadequately supported. This is an illustration of the rule too often adopted by impatient advocates of reforms, that so long as statements help the cause, it need not matter much if they are not altogether true. The adoption of such a rule in the case of school-books tends to demoralize the minds of young people and is therefore little short of criminal.

One excellent result of our public schools is to be seen in the universality of the reading habit among Americans. Probably more newspapers and magazines are printed in the United States than in all the rest of the world taken together. In many parts of the country the public library has been added to the public school. In Massachusetts, at the end of the century, less than two per cent. of the entire population lived in towns or villages without public libraries. To this rapid dissemination of public libraries there has been added since 1850 a very rapid growth in the dimensions of the larger libraries. At the end of the century there were two the number of whose books is fast approaching a million each; these are the National Library at Washington and the Public Library of Boston; while two have passed the figure of half a million, that of Harvard University and that of the University of Chicago. Many, if not most of the states, as well as many counties and other localities, have historical societies with libraries and archives more or less extensive. Some of these societies are doing work of great importance in the field of history, as for example, the Wisconsin Historical Society, which is just finishing its colossal task of editing and publishing the seventy or more volumes of Jesuit Relations, which are of supreme importance for the study of the seventeenth century and the earlier part of the eighteenth.

I have elsewhere mentioned the colleges founded in the English

colonies before the war of independence. It would hardly be proper to conclude this chapter without mentioning the names of some of the most important ones founded in the nineteenth century: The University of Virginia, founded by Jefferson in 1819; that of Michigan, 1821; Wisconsin, 1848; the Washington University at St. Louis, 1857; Cornell University at Ithaca, N. Y., 1868; Johns Hopkins at Baltimore, 1876; Tulane at New Orleans, 1884; Clark at Worcester, 1889; Leland Stanford Jr. at Palo Alto, California, 1891; the University of Chicago, 1892. In most American colleges at the present day, women attend

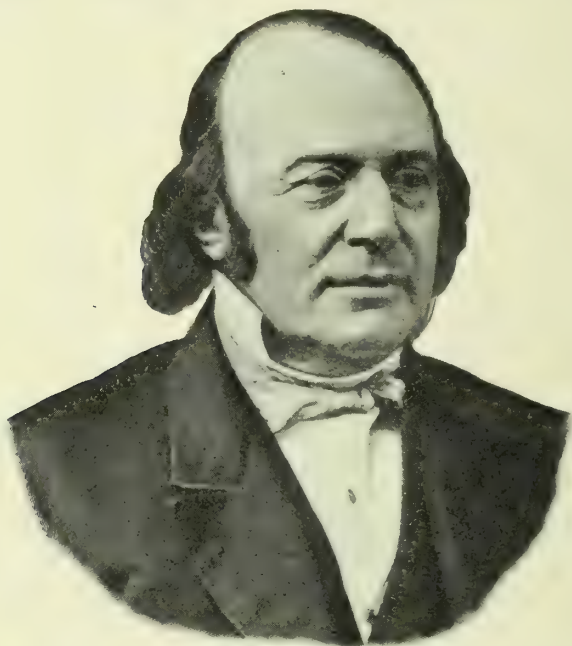


FIG. 103.—Louis Agassiz.

the same classes with men; but there are also several excellent colleges especially for women, such as Vassar at Poughkeepsie, founded in 1865; Wellesley, 1875; Smith at Northampton, 1875; Bryn Mawr, near Philadelphia, 1885. At Cambridge a small association founded in 1878 for the higher education of women, with its standard of training as high as that of the university, developed rapidly and in 1894 was incorporated as Radcliffe College. Harvard University, the largest and most wealthy, as well as the oldest in the United States, numbered in the last year of the nineteenth century 4947 students, besides the 393 of Radcliffe.

Along with colleges and libraries, some mention should be made of museums and other places for the prosecution of research. Of these

America has two which rank among the largest and finest in the world, the Smithsonian Institution at Washington and the Museum of Comparative Zoology connected with Harvard University and commonly known as the Agassiz Museum, after its illustrious founder (Fig. 103). Continuous with this noble building is the University Museum, where may be found the Blaschka glass flowers, which may well be called the eighth wonder of the world. Another wing of the great pile contains the Museum of American Archaeology, founded by George Peabody, and hard by stands the Schiff Museum of Semitic antiquities. The Botanical Garden at Harvard ranks very high, but probably the grandest botanical gardens in America are those founded by Henry Shaw and now connected with the Washington University at St. Louis. Nor must we pass without mention the wonderful collection of secondary and tertiary fossils at Yale University, which commemorate the profound paleontological studies of Othniel Marsh. Among astronomical observatories may be especially noted those at Cambridge, Allegheny, Washington, Chicago, and the Lick Observatory in California. None of these institutions date back quite so far as the first quarter of the century, yet the story of their original contributions to astronomy would take very long to tell. We must not pass over the names of the two Bonds, father and son, about the middle of the century, in connection with the planet Saturn and the successful application of photography to the telescope, in which the first step was taken in 1853 by Lewis Rutherford, of New York. Among our astronomers who rank with those best known in Europe are the names of Newcomb, Gould, Young, Pickering, and Langley.

The greatest name in the history of science in America is that of Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, who was born at Woburn, in the neighborhood of Boston, in 1753. He was a Tory, and his political sympathies carried him to England, where he was knighted for brilliant discoveries in physics. Removing afterward to Germany, his fame kept growing until the emperor made him a peer of the Holy Roman Empire under the style of Count Rumford. It was he, more than anyone else, who set upon firm foundations the truth afterward demonstrated by Joule, that heat is a mode of motion. The discovery of this fact, which underlies a large part of the foundations of molecular physics, entitles the name of Rumford to a place of very high rank among the scientific heroes of all time; yet I dare say the number of Americans who know anything about him is comparatively small.

If the name of Rumford is less known in his own country than it deserves, on the other hand, no name is better known than that of the great Swiss naturalist who made this country his home. Louis Agassiz was great not only for original contributions to science, but also for the powerful stimulus exerted by his magnetic personality and eloquent enthusiasm. The scientific achievements of his son, Alexander Agassiz, have also been great; and in the same connection should be mentioned the work of Joseph Leidy (Fig. 104), Edward Cope, and Othniel Marsh,

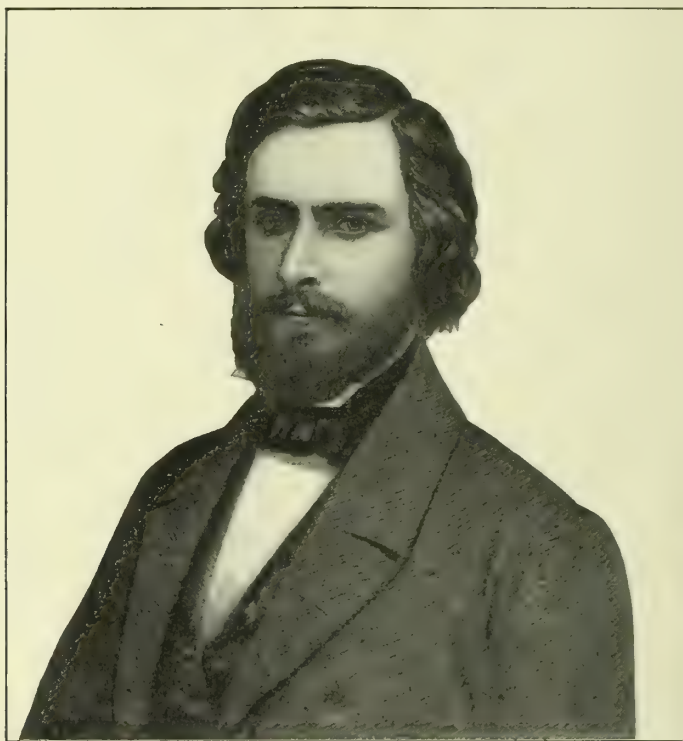


FIG. 104.—Joseph Leidy. (From an unlettered print in the collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

as well as that of the geologist Dana, the botanist Asa Gray (Fig. 105), and that profound student of ocean currents, the Virginian, Matthew Fontaine Maury.

Perhaps few discoveries have contributed more to lighten the physical miseries of life than the discovery—so simple, and yet delayed until the middle of the nineteenth century—that by inhaling certain gases one could become for a brief season insensible to pain. It was Horace Wells, of Hartford, who first used nitrous oxide, the so-called “laughing

gas," in 1844. Scarcely had the announcement of this fact become generally known when two physicians in Boston found that for operations requiring some lapse of time, sulphuric ether was at once safer and more effective. Their names were William Morton and Charles Jackson, and, as commonly happens in such cases, vexed questions of priority have arisen.

From science one passes in these days quite naturally to philosophy. After the mighty work of Jonathan Edwards, who died before 1750, more than a century elapsed without any American book on philosophy that is distinctly worth mentioning. In 1874 was published a book entitled "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the Doctrine of



FIG. 105.—Asa Gray.

Evolution," by the author of the present work, in which an account was given of the general theory of evolution in the shape which it was then assuming. In this book the most important factors in the genesis of the human race were for the first time pointed out and their effects estimated. Since then much notable work has been done, especially in psychology, by Dewey, Ladd, and William James, to which names should be added that of Josiah Royce, author of several profound and suggestive books on metaphysics and those questions that lie upon the borderlands of science and religion.

In the middle of the century the part that was played in British literature by Thomas Carlyle was to some extent paralleled in America

by Ralph Waldo Emerson (Fig. 106). The work of both these men belongs to what may be called the literature of stimulus, its importance lying not so much in its enunciating new truths as its inciting its readers to think for themselves and to take higher and more earnest views of life. On the one hand, Emerson did no work similar to the books of history written by Carlyle ; but on the other hand, his thoughts were much more profound and his influence more ennobling. His scholarship was not remarkable, and he was not so much a philosopher and critic as a poet dealing with philosophy and criticism. His essays are prose poems, and

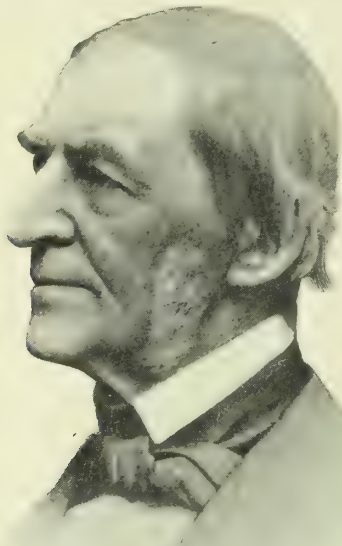


FIG. 106.—Ralph Waldo Emerson.

in his verse, despite a certain mystery in the diction, he sometimes attains very lofty flights. His name must be ranked among the greatest of those which have given lustre to America.

From Emerson it is an easy transition to his contemporary, Theodore Parker (Fig. 46), whose name opens up a subject too extensive even for a cursory sketch in a book like the present. I cannot undertake here to give any account of the development of religious thought or the career of Christian churches during this remarkable century ; and such interesting names as Muhlenberg, Wilbur Fisk, Nathaniel Taylor, William Ellery

Channing, and Phillips Brooks must be passed over with a bare mention. A word more may be said of Horace Bushnell, whose theological writings are characterized by rare acuteness and show high philosophic capacity. As for Theodore Parker, he was an unusual instance of the combination of wide learning with boldness of thinking, a deeply reverent spirit, and stirring pulpit eloquence. Parker was one of the first Americans to profit by the scholarship of Germany in matters of theology and Biblical criticism. His bold utterances on these subjects called forth much vituperation from the various orthodoxies of his time, but the

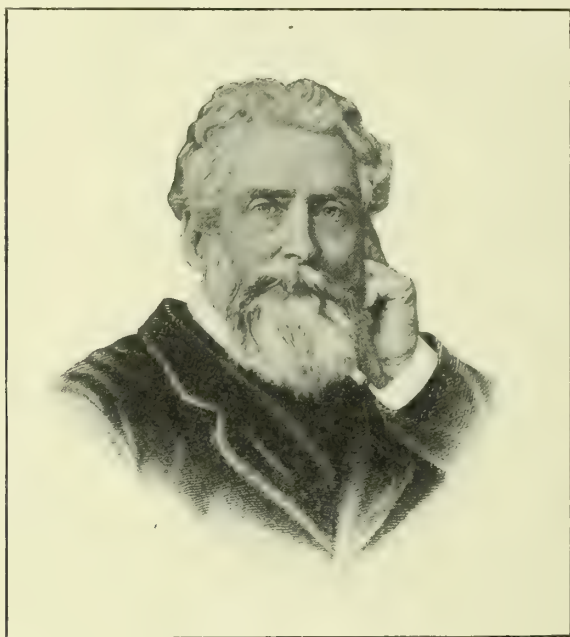


Wm H. Prescott

FIG. 107.—William Hickling Prescott.

positions which he held have been almost completely adopted by Unitarians, while nearly all the other Protestant churches have made strides, some much longer than others, in the same direction. This movement has been furthered by the extent to which the doctrine of evolution has been popularized in America. Here should be mentioned the name of Edward Livingstone Youmans, founder of the *Popular Science Monthly*, who did probably more than any other man of the century to bring scientific truths home to the minds of the people and to instill into them some inkling of scientific methods. The effect of all this upon theologic

opinion has been immense. The different churches, attaching infinitely less importance to doctrines than has ever before been the case, are visibly drawing nearer to one another in Christian fellowship, while their efficiency in good works has increased in all directions. Undoubtedly, so far as America is concerned, the twentieth century opens upon a far more Christian world than any of its nineteen predecessors.



J. Lothrop Motley

FIG. 108.—John Lothrop Motley. (From an unlettered proof by F. F. Stuart. Collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

About eighty years ago the question was scornfully asked by Lord Jeffrey, or perhaps it may have been Sydney Smith, "Who reads an American book?" In fact, there was very little American literature when that remark was made. The seventeenth century, although it witnessed much learning and more or less voluminous writing, at least in New England, produced no masterpiece; the eighteenth century produced, from a purely literary point of view, just one, Franklin's "Autobiography." There was, however, the series of papers called

The Federalist, by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, which, although not a literary classic in the strict sense, is nevertheless a profound and masterly treatise likely to endure as long as Aristotle's "Politics" or any of the foremost books of that kind. Then the "History of Massachusetts Bay," by Thomas Hutchinson, who died in 1780, was a book of signal excellence and in its way a classic.

But the first American to win a place among the world's immortals by purely literary work was born in 1783. Who is there in any civilized land who has not heard of Washington Irving (Fig. 15)? And who is there that reads the English language who does not love him as a personal friend? His name is as much a household word in England as in



FIG. 109.—Francis Parkman.

America; even in Stratford the pilgrim who visits the birthplace of Shakespeare is never allowed to go away without seeing the room at the Red Horse Inn which the genial American author once occupied. There is no need of mentioning his exquisite writings, but it may be worth while to point out that as an historian he ranks among our best, especially for his "Life of Columbus," in which the accuracy of research is as notable as the literary charm. It has never been approached in excellence by any other book on Columbus ever printed in any language.

After Irving, the name which comes most naturally to one's mind is that of William Hickling Prescott (Fig. 107). It has been said that American historians have shown a fondness for Spanish themes, and the reason is not far to seek. Prescott's books quite reek with the fragrance

of that unparalleled age of romance that witnessed the discovery of the New World. He failed to understand aboriginal Mexico, and his work on its conquest by the Spaniards must be read with perpetual qualifications; but in spite of that gorgeous failure, his merits are very high. Next after Prescott follows John Lothrop Motley (Fig. 108), the historian of the great civil and religious struggle between Spain and the Netherlands, whose work, had it been finished, would have taken us through the Thirty Years' War. In his earlier volumes Motley showed

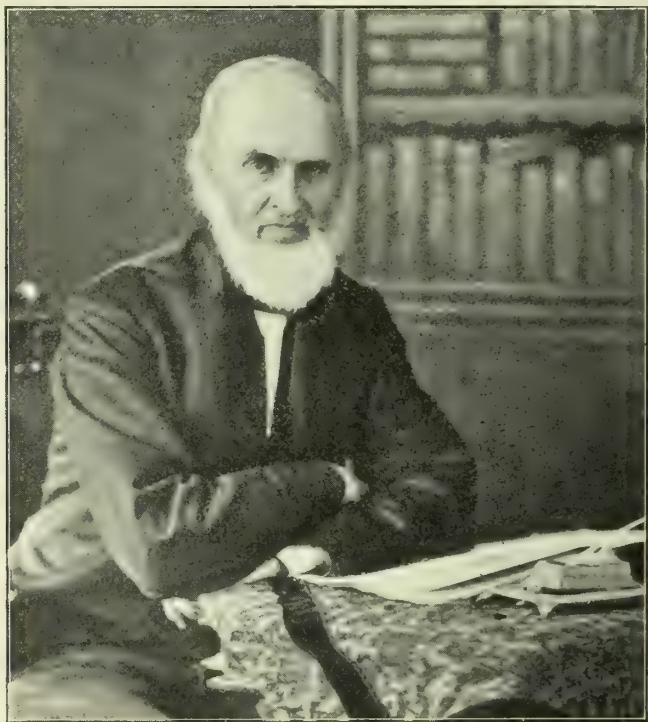


FIG. 110.—John Greenleaf Whittier. (From photograph by Notman, Boston.)

certain Carlylish affectations in style which he afterward outgrew. In sundry places his conclusions need some revising and amending, but on the whole he comes very near to being America's foremost historian.

In the same connection must be mentioned George Tieknor, whose "History of Spanish Literature" is the best in existence and for judicious scholarship may be compared with the works of his contemporary, Henry Hallam. On a much lower level stands the "History of the United States" by George Bancroft, here mentioned for its great celebrity, a book that is excellent for its accounts of European diplomacy.

Its grasp upon historical facts, however, is feeble and its style sophomorical, while it abounds in vapid declamation. Its fame is already on the wane. A much better piece of work is Palfrey's "*History of New England*," in which the chief defect is a too indiscriminate defence of the founders of Massachusetts. The greatest work on

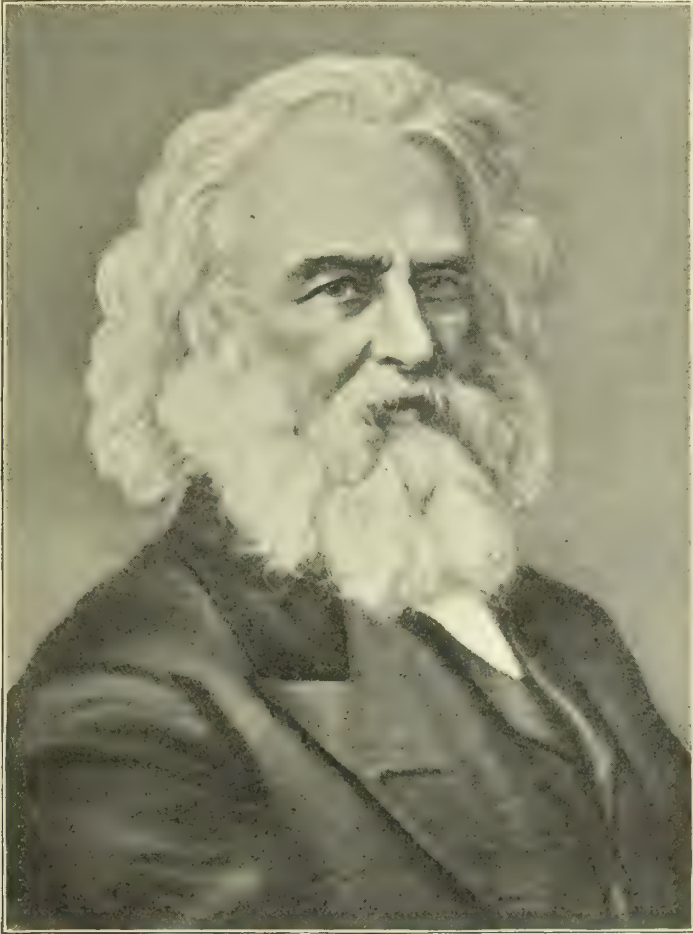


FIG. 111.—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

American history, pre-eminent alike for depth and accuracy of research, for philosophic sagacity and for literary charm, is "*France and England in North America*," by Francis Parkman (Fig. 109), first published as a series of works under separate titles. Take him for all in all, Parkman must be called the greatest of our historians and among the greatest of all time.

In connection with the history of maritime discovery should be mentioned the names of two Americans whose work has required them to live in other countries : Henry Stevens, the Green Mountain boy, whose quaint wit so long enlivened the meetings of the Society of Antiquaries in London ; and Henry Harrisse, who, although he lives in Paris and writes more often in French than in English, is our fellow-countryman. No one else has carried research into the times of Columbus to such an extent as Harrisse, while the contributions of Stevens to the history of geography are of the highest value.

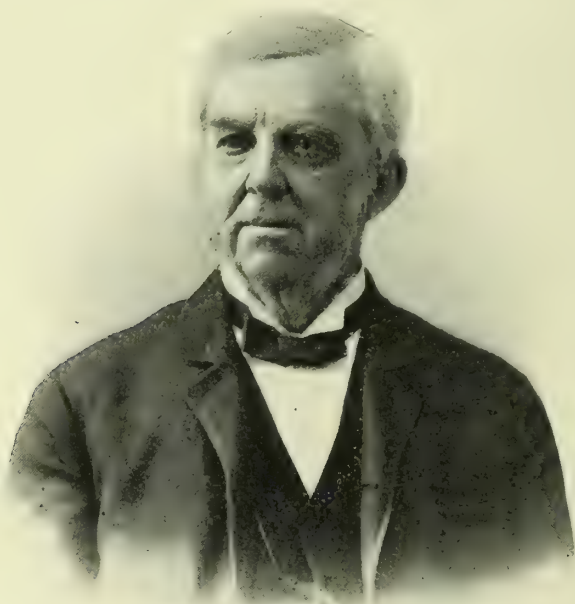


FIG. 112.—Oliver Wendell Holmes.

As Motley's topic followed chronologically upon those of Prescott, so that of John Foster Kirk in his "History of Charles the Bold" preceded them—a learned and memorable book. But chief among American historians for profundity of research in a remote field is Henry Charles Lea, in his series of great books on the ecclesiastical history of the Middle Ages. Philadelphia has always been one of the literary centres of the United States ; at the present time, besides being the home of Lea, it numbers among its citizens the most accomplished of all Shakespeare's scholars, Horace Howard Furness. Nor is it in the field of Shakespeare alone that American scholarship has dealt with the literature of the mother-

country. Passing from Philadelphia to Cambridge, we have in the collection of *English and Scottish Ballads*, by Francis James Child, a work of truly marvellous erudition and one of the most important contributions to the history of the English-speaking race.

In the studies allied to history, especially jurisprudence, the names of Kent, Greenleaf, Story, Wheaton, and Woolsey are so famous that they need but to be mentioned; and it is the same in philology, with such names as Whitney, Trumbull, and Brinton. In the study of ancient



FIG. 113. —James Russell Lowell.

America a new era has been brought in by the work of Powell, Bandelier, and Cushing.

Coming to poets, while America has none that can be ranked with the mother-country's highest twelve, she has names of world-wide celebrity. There is no one but knows the musical charm of Whittier (Fig. 110) and Longfellow (Fig. 111), the grace and wit of Holmes (Fig. 112), and the soaring eloquence, relieved by exuberant fun, of Lowell (Fig. 113). Less widely known is Emerson's terse and oracular, but often profoundly spiritual verse; while Cranch and Parsons, though

apparently "caviare to the general," are among the most exquisite of singers.

The "Thanatopsis" of Bryant (Fig. 26) and "The Raven" of Poe (Fig. 19) have survived through two generations. Among the younger poets we may mention Aldrich and Gilder, Robert Weeks and Edward Roland Sill, George Woodberry and Sidney Lanier.

In the early years of the century our chief novelist was Charles Brockden Brown (Fig. 25), a man of true genius, whose somewhat sombre works were followed by some of more cheerful hue, "The Dutchman's Fireside," by Paulding, and "Rob of the Bowl," by Kennedy. The fame



FIG. 114.—Nathaniel Hawthorne.

of these writers was partially eclipsed by that of James Fenimore Cooper, whose stories quickly obtained a European reputation. The composer, Schubert, in his last illness asked for every novel of Cooper's that could be found in Vienna. The time had already passed when it could be asked, "Who reads an American book?" But a far greater than Cooper soon came upon the scene. "The Scarlet Letter" of Nathaniel Hawthorne (Fig. 114) seems to take us back to the age of Athenian tragedy; his weird but subtle and intensely spiritual writings are so powerful as to make Hawthorne in some respects the greatest figure in American literature. From Hawthorne's books to novels, in the ordinary sense of the

word, the transition is almost a shock. In stories illustrating the manners and customs of American society in different parts of the country, our literature has been quite rich ever since the days of Sylvester Judd's "Margaret" and Susan Warner's "The Wide, Wide World," which first appeared in 1851. It is enough to mention the names of Bret Harte, Henry James, "Mark Twain," Esten Cooke, Hopkinson Smith, Nelson Page, Cable, Harris, Mary Murfree, Mary Wilkins, and Sarah Orne Jewett. In historical novels, notable success has been obtained by Weir Mitchell, Mrs. Austen, Maud Wilder Goodwin, Mary Johnston, Winston Churchill, and Paul Leicester Ford. Bynner's "Agnes Surriage" is one of the most brilliant of American works of fiction.



FIG. 115.—Homer D. Martin.

When we come to essayists and critics, we must once more repeat the name of James Russell Lowell and mention those of Thoreau, Charles Dudley Warner, Burroughs, Higginson, Stedman, and Thomas Sergeant Perry; and so from "the gay science," as such writing used to be called in mediaeval times, we may pass on to the fine arts.

The first great American painter was John Singleton Copley, whose father and mother were Irish peasants. They came to Boston shortly before his birth there in 1737. A remarkable genius for drawing and painting showed itself in Copley while he was still a mere child. Most of Boston's wealthy people had him paint their portraits, for there was no one else who could do it properly; and scores of these fine and

impressive paintings may be seen to-day in and about that city. At the age of twenty-three, he sent one of his pictures over to London and became instantly famous. Fourteen years later he went to England, and lived there the remainder of his life. His son, John Singleton Copley, now better known as Lord Lyndhurst, became Lord Chancellor of England. Such is the kind of romance which real life sometimes affords.

A sketch like the present can hardly do more than mention the names of the painters, Gilbert Stuart, Benjamin West, John Trumbull,



FIG. 116.—John LaFarge.

Washington Allston, and the two Peales, father and son. If we turn to landscape, we can point to excellent and often brilliant work done by such artists as Huntington, Kensett, Inness, Church, Bierstadt, Sanford Gifford, Durand, Cropsey, Homer Martin (Fig. 115), and Winslow Homer. Then for *genre* painting, we have had Eastman Johnson, E. W. Perry, W. J. Hennessey, and others. The weird

genius of Elihu Vedder has found a congenial subject in putting in pictorial form the verse of Omar Khayyam. Last, not least, John



FIG. 117.—John Knowles Paine.

LaFarge (Fig. 116) has achieved eminence in several different kinds of painting and also in mural decoration. Our earliest great sculptors were flourishing about the middle of the century. Such were Greenough,



FIG. 118.—Theodore Thomas.

Crawford, and Powers, after whom may be named Ball, Story, and Ward; while the next generation saw MacMonnies and St. Gaudens

come into the foreground. The artist last named must be placed, perhaps, at the head of American sculptors. One of his most famous works is the monument erected in front of the State-House in Boston to the memory of Robert Gould Shaw, who commanded a negro regiment in the civil war. The principal feature of this work is a large bas-relief representing a file of negro soldiers on the march, with their colonel on horseback giving orders, and with ensigns waving their colors and drummer-boys beating their drums. It is one of the most virile and stirring pieces of modern sculpture, exquisite in details of workmanship and everywhere impressed with that undefinable quality which we call the stamp of genius.



FIG. 119.—Edwin Booth.

Among musical composers, the first half of the century rested content with Lowell Mason and Henry Oliver, who achieved little beyond psalm-tunes and the simpler kinds of anthem and motett, some of them pleasing of their kind. From that sort of thing it has been a long step to the magnificent symphonies, cantatas, oratorios, mass, opera, chamber-music, piano-music, and songs of John Knowles Paine (Fig. 117), whose work is not surpassed, if indeed it is equalled, by that of any European composer now living. Other American composers of merit are Dudley Buck, MacDowell, Osgood, and Arthur Foote. No mention of American music, however slight, can omit the name of

Theodore Thomas (Fig. 118), a native of Germany, whose life has been spent in the United States as an orchestral conductor, in which capacity he has done more than any other man to teach Americans what good music is.

Nor in the mention of artists should the names be omitted of the actors, Edwin Booth (Fig. 119) and Joseph Jefferson (Fig. 120).

Of architecture, which has been called "frozen music," we had some fairly good specimens even in the seventeenth century, as for example,



FIG. 120.—Joseph Jefferson as Rip Van Winkle. (From an unlettered print in the collection of Hampton L. Carson, Esq., Philadelphia.)

the original Town House of Boston, built by Thomas Joy in 1657. Some of the old churches in New England show the familiar style of Sir Christopher Wren, whose pupils and imitators were many. The colonial architecture of the eighteenth century was in general simple, spacious, and dignified. Then after the Revolution, when people were eternally quoting the republics of antiquity and signing their pamphlets "Cato," and baptizing their children Marcellus or Darius, there came in that passion for Grecian columns at the front of dwelling-houses as well as of public buildings. Sometimes when it happened that an

ambitious architect surmounted his row of wooden Doric columns with a gable crowned by a Christopher Wren belfry and steeple, the effect was grotesque enough. In the middle of the nineteenth century American architecture reached its lowest point of degradation. It gave expression to wealth suddenly acquired and unguided by education. The result was vulgar display; and as the houses were, so was the furniture, even to the silver and china. The last quarter of a century showed a sudden break, first in the direction of a nondescript style miscalled by the name of Queen Anne, the chief characteristic of which was a conglomeration of meaningless surprises; and inside these amorphous structures one would find the whimsicalities of Sir Charles Eastlake. The one great merit of this movement was its breaking up conventionalities and setting people free to study new designs. About



FIG. 121.—Henry Hobson Richardson.

this time appeared upon the scene the first great genius among American architects, Henry Hobson Richardson (Fig. 121), whose works mark an era in the history of American art. The traditions which he established in his too brief career have been admirably maintained by his son-in-law, George Shepley, head of a well-known firm of architects, among whose works may be mentioned the great double quadrangle of the Leland Stanford University in California, which is one of the noblest pieces of architecture in America. The invention of the elevator, together with the use of steel frames in building, has in recent years led to the erection of buildings from twelve to twenty stories in height; and these Gargantuan dimensions are beginning to call into existence new architectural designs. The character of civilization at the opening of the twentieth century and in America is well typified in the kind of edifices

which it makes most lofty and imposing in their dimensions. In Europe the building which is apt to dwarf all the rest of the town in which it stands is the sublime cathedral, with its heaven-kissing spires, erected in the thirteenth century and dedicated to the service of God. In America to-day our buildings most imposing for their size are grain-elevators, railway-stations, and chambers of commerce, dedicated—as some wicked philosopher might say—to the service of Mammon ; but we trust that the interests of the soul are not forgotten because of these increased facilities for enriching and beautifying the material side of life.

CHAPTER VI.

BRITISH AMERICA AND THE POLAR REGIONS.

WE used sometimes to hear it said that if the Albany Plan of 1754 had succeeded, and the United States had remained in nominal allegiance to the British crown, our growth as a nation would have been greatly retarded. This statement was apt to be finished by the remark that in that case we should have been like Canada; and the implication was that Canada is an insignificant and comparatively stagnant nation. The chief interest of such remarks lies in their showing the crass ignorance of those who make them. At the time of the English conquest in 1763, Canada had a population of about 65,000 souls; after 137 years—that is to say, in 1900—the number had increased to about 5,300,000, which is almost exactly the same as that of the United States in 1800. Now in 1663 the population of the United States must have been not far from 65,000, so that for corresponding periods the growth of the Canadian population seems to have been about the same as our own. In this connection it is interesting to note that the colonizing work of the French in Canada began in the first decade of the seventeenth century, just at the time when the English were making settlements in Virginia. During the first century and a half of American history, while the French in Canada were increasing to 65,000 under the fostering policy of the Old Régime, at the same time the English colonies were neglected and let alone to their manifest advantage, and their population increased to something like 2,500,000. Thus the United States gained a long start in advance of Canada; but since the latter country has come under British rule, her rate of advance has kept pace with that of the United States under parallel conditions. In other words, the rapid growth of the United States began at the beginning, while that of Canada waited until it was conquered by England. It would not be fair, however, to ascribe the late start of Canada solely to French methods of government. The contrast was partly due to the fact that the English settlements were made along the sea-coast and thus were always near their base of operations; while the settlement of Canada ran along an axis nearly perpendicular

to the sea, so that every increase meant a further plunge into the depths of the wilderness and comparative remoteness from the nourishing sea. It may surprise some readers to be told that at the present day the Dominion of Canada is the fourth commercial power in the world, Great Britain being first, the United States second, and France third. Perhaps few people realize in this connection the importance of the trade upon the Great Lakes. The great canal of the Sault Ste. Marie is closed by ice one-quarter of the year, while that of the Isthmus of Suez is always open ; yet the amount of tonnage which passes through the Sault Ste. Marie in nine months is greater than that which passes through the Isthmus of Suez in the entire year, and a fair share of this tonnage is Canadian. There is much reason for supposing that before the end of the twentieth century the population of Canada will considerably outnumber that of either France or Germany. It is therefore of interest to watch its small beginnings.

After the peace of 1763, many of the feudal land-owners of Canada and many of the great merchants whose capital had been invested in the fur-trade went back to France. The population of 65,000, settled chiefly along the banks of the St. Lawrence, were mostly peasants of French descent or traders and wood-rangers of French or French-and-Indian parentage. All were Catholics and most of them were poor, uneducated, superstitious, and intensely conservative. An exception should be made in the case of the priests, who were, in the main, a well-educated and highly intelligent class of men. The first English settlers would seem to have been soldiers who received grants of land in payment for their services in conquering the country. In 1764 George III. issued a proclamation promising to the Canadians the same sort of government as that of the English provinces under royal governors. This was done to please the English immigrants, who were as sturdy sticklers for constitutional liberty as the Americans, whereas the French inhabitants preferred the despotism under which they had been reared. No government was formed, however, under the king's proclamation, and Canada remained under military rule until 1774. The troubles between the English colonies and the king's party in England were then fast approaching the point of war, and, in order to keep Canada on the king's side, the king's party in Parliament succeeded in passing the famous Quebec act, the aim of which was to propitiate the French inhabitants. This act extended the territory of Canada southward from Lake Erie along the bank of the Ohio, taking in the whole of the noble region which the arms of George Rogers Clarke and the diplomacy of

John Jay afterward won for the United States. The Quebec act established the Roman Catholic Church and the old French land-laws in perpetuity. It made no provision for a popular assembly, but left everything in the hands of the governor and council. These measures pleased the French land-owners and clergy, and when the American army invaded Canada it met with a united resistance; the British regulars were well supported by the Canadian militia and by the sentiment of the country. They were also aided by certain Indians, among whom

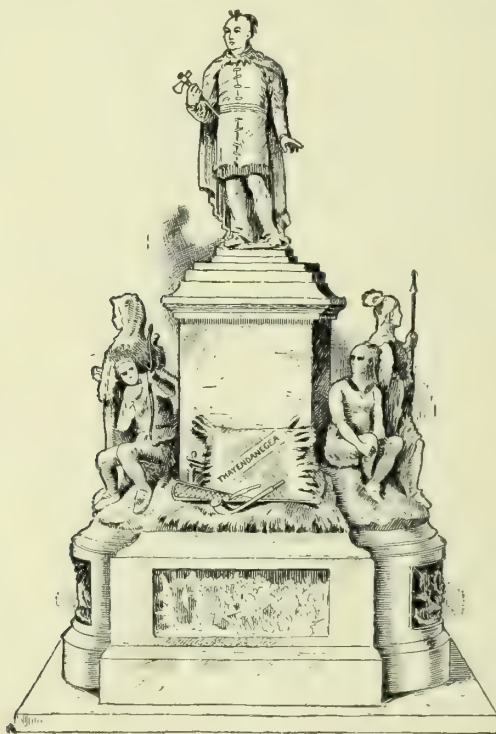


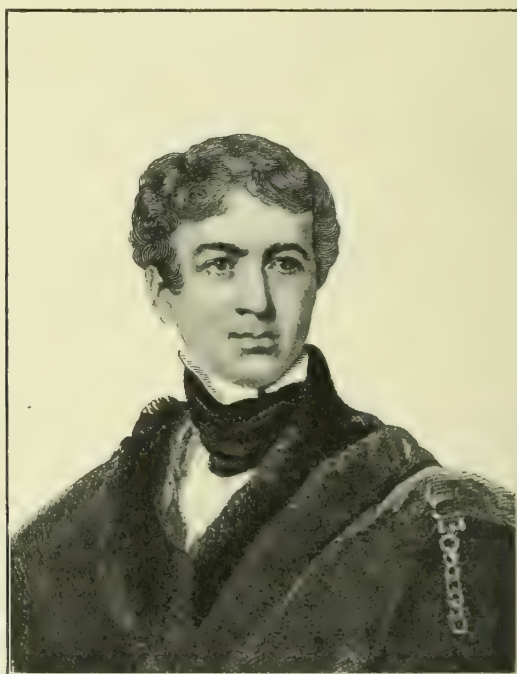
FIG. 122.—Statue of Joseph Brant (Thayendenegea), at Brantford, Ont. Erected in 1886.

was that remarkable character, Joseph Brant (Fig. 122). Thus the first stage of Canadian history after the English conquest was that in which there was a single province on the banks of the St. Lawrence, with a population almost entirely French and governed by despotic methods. At the same time there was the province of New Brunswick, in the population of which were many Acadian families who had been driven from Nova Scotia in 1755; and there was the province of Nova Scotia itself, which had been subject to England since 1713 and contained a considerable English population,

The American Revolution came in and gave rise to a new state of things in Canada. When the British troops evacuated Boston in 1776, they took with them to Halifax about 10,000 Tories from Boston and the neighboring country. The greater part of these Tories settled in Nova Scotia, and before the end of the war their numbers had been increased to more than 20,000; at the same time there was a large exodus of Tories from the United States to the northern shores of Lake Ontario. These exiles were for the most part men of wealth and good social position; they were also men of principle, whom the United States could ill afford to lose; and they were sturdy lovers of liberty, although they did not approve of the course taken by the Revolutionary party in the United States. They did not consider the severance from Great Britain necessary for the maintenance of American liberty, but most of them loved political freedom as devotedly as Samuel Adams or Patrick Henry. Our newspapers used to denounce them as "spaniels" and "fawning minions of Britain," but that was mere ignorant abuse. The first effect of the arrival of these settlers in Canada was the overthrow of the despotic Quebec act. They at once joined with the older English settlers in petitioning for its repeal, and the response to their demand was the constitution act which was passed in 1791 under the ministry of William Pitt. Canada was now divided into two provinces separated by the Ottawa River. The old French colony on the St. Lawrence was called Lower Canada, while the new English colony on Lake Ontario was called Upper Canada. Royal governments were instituted in each of these two provinces. In each there was a governor and executive council appointed by the crown, and in each there was a Parliament consisting of two Houses. The members of the upper House or Legislative Council were appointed by the crown, while the members of the lower House or Representative Assembly were elected by the people. Each province was independent of the other. This form of government made a fair show outwardly, but it contained one fatal defect: the Assembly could exercise no effectual check upon the governor except by some such semi-revolutionary expedient as stopping the supplies; the governor was made responsible only to the Colonial Office in London.

At the outset, Lower Canada was the more populous and important of the two provinces; but Upper Canada surpassed it in rapidity of growth, and in the course of twenty years it had gained perceptibly on the lower province in population and wealth. This was because of the more enterprising character of the people. Their Representative Assem-

bly favored liberal public measures and did but little to hinder the progress of trade. On the other hand, the Assembly of Lower Canada contained a majority of representatives from the French part of the population, and these were so conservative and bigoted, so bent upon resisting every modern idea and frowning upon every modern improvement, that the governors in sheer impatience were impelled to seek the good of the people through unconstitutional and arbitrary measures.



Durham

FIG. 123.—John George Lambton, Earl of Durham.

An extreme instance was furnished by Sir James Craig, who came out as governor in 1808. Craig's methods were despotic and his arrogance evoked much ill feeling. Craig was really an honest, hard-headed Scotchman who knew little about the country, but had conceived the idea that the French Canadians were disloyal. Not being able to overcome the French majority in the Assembly, he dissolved that body on the ground that it was merely wasting time. A new election resulted

in an increased majority for the obnoxious Frenchmen, and presently the House was again dissolved by the angry governor. Then Sir James went on to sack the printing-office of an opposition newspaper and to imprison the editor along with several leaders of the popular party. He even threatened to oust the Catholic priesthood from their livings. There was great excitement in Quebec and Montreal, and the newspapers, with customary grotesque extravagance, characterized the years 1809-10 as the "Canadian Reign of Terror." Once more the election resulted in a heavy French majority, and the fiery governor was warned by the Colonial Office to pursue a more moderate course. It began to be per-



FIG. 124. —Sir Alexander Mackenzie. (Mackenzie's "Voyages," 1801.)

ceived that a legislative union of the two provinces would enable an English majority to rule the whole country by constitutional methods. But the people of the upper province were very unwilling to unite with the lower.

At this juncture the war of 1812 came in to affect the situation. Upper Canada was English, Protestant, and progressive, while Lower Canada was still predominantly French, Catholic, and conservative. It seemed to politicians in the United States that Upper Canada could easily be won over to them, since it might be expected to prefer a union with the United States to a union with Lower Canada. It was in reli-

ance upon this hope that one of the first acts of the United States government was the invasion of Upper Canada from Detroit by General William Hull. Sir Isaac Brock was then governor of the upper province, and Sir George Prevost, a man of conciliatory temper, of the lower. Among the important facts in the case upon which the invaders had not counted was the fact that the people of Upper Canada cherished bitter memories of the United States, against whose people they had just and abundant cause of complaint in the indignities inflicted upon their fathers. The upper province disliked the lower much less than it disliked the United States, and it was in a fair mood for listening to conciliatory proposals. On the whole, the war of 1812 tended to bring the two Canadas together.

Union between the two, however, was not accomplished until 1840. Meanwhile, the troubles in the lower province, of the same nature as those which had characterized Craig's administration, went on increasing and quarrels grew more frequent and bitter. Among the French there



FIG. 125.—Alaskan pictographs on walrus tusk. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

was a National party led by the youthful Papineau, Speaker of the Assembly, a man of remarkable ability. In 1833 the Assembly addressed to the British government a manifesto stating in ninety-two resolutions the nature of its grievances, but to this no satisfactory answer was vouchsafed. At length the Assembly resorted to the desperate device of stopping the supplies. During the next four years no taxes were collected and all the business of government came to a standstill. At length, in 1837, the arrest of two gentlemen charged with sedition, and their rescue by a mob of peasants, led directly to civil war. The rebellion, which spread over a considerable part of both provinces, was easily put down and some of its leaders were executed for treason. This affair aroused the sympathies of the English people, and in 1838 Lord Durham (Fig. 123) was sent to Canada as commissioner to report upon the needs of the country in regard of good government. The result was the union of the two Canadas in 1840. A single Parliament was created, consisting of a Council of not less than twenty

members appointed for life, and a lower House of eighty-four deputies chosen by popular election every fourth year, half the number being from the upper province and half from the lower. As regards numerical representation, this arrangement seemed unfair to the French people of the lower province, and many of them protested against it; but on the whole, it worked very well. The French were kept in a



FIG. 126.—Haida totem posts, Queen Charlotte's Island. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iv.)

minority, but they got a better government than they had ever had before, and so they were brought into an acquiescent mood. The great success of this arrangement marks the year 1840 as a date of prime importance in Canadian history.

The next important period was the governorship of Lord Elgin, from 1847 to 1854, during which the old feudal tenures were abolished

and the lands of the clergy secularized. Moreover, the trade of Canada was opened to all the world and an advantageous commercial treaty was concluded with the United States. Under a system of free trade Cana-

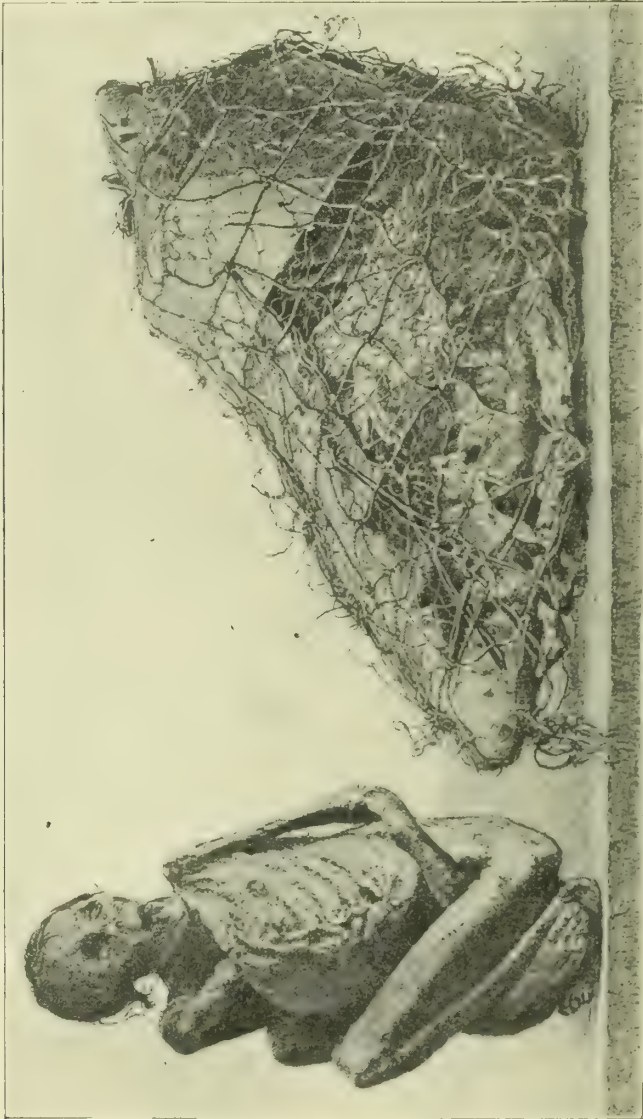


FIG. 127.—Alaskan mummies. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. i.)

dian manufactures entered upon a period of lusty growth, and the population of Canada was more than doubled in fifteen years. Moreover, the year 1849 witnessed an event which proved that Canada was virtually independent. The Canadian Parliament passed an act of indemnity for

persons who had suffered in the rebellion of 1837. The party opposed to this act made an appeal to the British Parliament to reverse the



FIG. 128.—Masks from the Northwest Coast. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. iii.)

indemnity act ; but the British Parliament, by a heavy majority led by Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, refused to interfere.

Soon after Lord Elgin's time the stream of Canadian migration made a sudden leap to the Pacific coast, somewhat like that which occurred in the United States in 1849, and for a similar reason. In the latter part of the eighteenth century a series of able English navigators—Cook, Meares, Portlock, Dixon, and Vancouver—explored the northwestern coasts of America all the way from San Francisco to the coast of Alaska; in 1789 Alexander Mackenzie (Fig. 124) discovered the great river that bears his name, and for many years the coast south of the Russian possessions was held by the Hudson Bay Company. We have already seen how it was divided between Great Britain and the United States in 1846. The discovery of gold in California three years later led people to search in the mountains of British Columbia for the precious metal, and in 1858 this search was rewarded by the discovery of gold along the Mackenzie and Fraser rivers. Immediately there was a rush of population to British Columbia, and the town of Victoria on Vancouver Island rapidly grew to considerable dimensions. It was made a free port like Hamburg, and is very likely to become soon a rival of San Francisco. It is already one of the most attractive places in the western hemisphere.

The next great step in Canadian history was the establishment of a federal union among the various provinces. Such a step was in the mind of Lord Durham as early as 1838, but the public intelligence was still too narrow to support that enlightened statesman. At last, in 1867, the great step was taken and the Dominion of Canada came into existence. The inciting cause was the growing disparity in population between Upper and Lower Canada. The western province by 1855 had come to contain 250,000 more people than the eastern, but it still sent only 42 representatives to the Lower House. Upper Canada therefore loudly called for representation by population, or, as it was called in the political slang of the time, "Rep. by Pop." This was stoutly opposed by the French population of Lower Canada, who had opposed equality of representation at first, but now wore the boot on the other leg and thought it indispensable to their comfort. After a while it began to be thought that the best way out of the difficulty would be through a federal union between the two provinces. It so happened, however, that the first decisive impulse toward federal union came from the maritime provinces. In 1864 a scheme was entertained for a legislative union between Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, and a conference was held at Charlottetown to discuss the matter. Each of the three provinces sent five delegates. The leading delegate from Nova Scotia was Dr. Charles Tupper; from New Brunswick, S. L. Tilley; from

Prince Edward Island, its own prime minister, Colonel Gray. The provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, hearing of this conference, were greatly interested and asked leave to take part in it. The request was cordially granted and six of the most prominent members of the Canadian government made their way to Charlottetown. They were chosen without distinction of party and ably represented the various interests of Canada. French Catholics were represented by Étienne Cartier, Irish

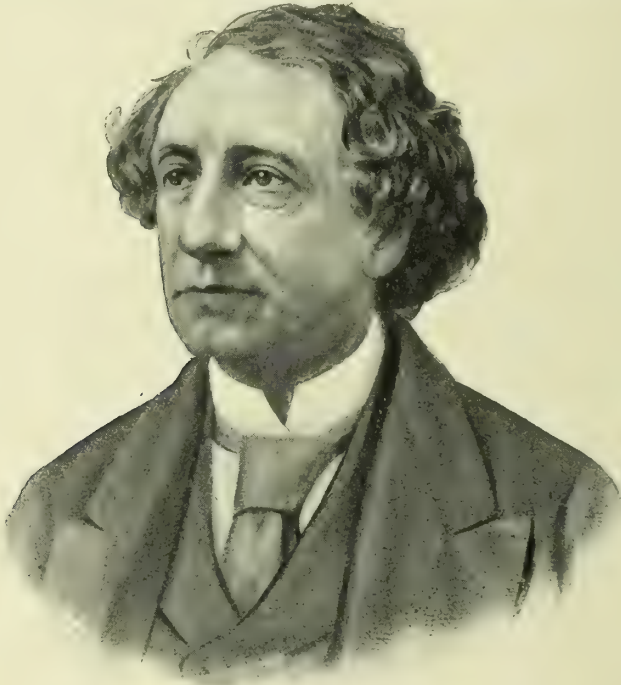


*Yours, very truly,
Thos. D'Arcy McGee*

FIG. 129.—Thomas D'Arcy McGee.

Catholics by D'Arcy McGee (Fig. 129), English Protestants by A. T. Galt, Scotch Protestants by William McDougall, while last, not least, came the great Liberal statesman, George Brown, and the great Conservative, John Alexander Macdonald (Fig. 130). These were very able men, and the idea of a general confederation which they eloquently set forth was accepted with favor by all. The conference, however, had not been empowered to deal with so large a matter, and it therefore adjourned after calling for another conference to meet at Quebec.

This Quebec Conference, which met October 10, 1864, is the counterpart in Canadian history to the Federal Convention of 1787 in the history of the United States, and its results are not unlikely to be as great and far-reaching as those of the earlier assemblage. What the Quebec conference accomplished in the course of eighteen days was to pass seventy-two resolutions which were afterward substantially enacted in the British North America act, which is Canada's written constitution.



A stylized, cursive signature of Sir John Alexander Macdonald, written in dark ink.

FIG. 130.—Sir John Alexander Macdonald.

After these resolutions had been adopted at Quebec, they were laid before the people of the various provinces for ratification, just as the Federal Constitution of the United States was laid before the people of the several states in the autumn of 1787. In the later case, as in the earlier, the new constitution was regarded by some people with hope and by others with dread. Newfoundland would not join the union, but preferred to stay "out in the cold," as Rhode Island had once done; but

unlike Rhode Island, she has not, up to the present time, seen fit to reverse her decision (Fig. 131). As for Prince Edward Island, her course was quite like that of Rhode Island; at first she would have nothing to say to the union, but afterward joined it. The hesitation of New Brunswick was more like that of New Hampshire. An election was held in New Brunswick in which the question of confederation was complicated with divers local questions, and thus got defeated at the polls; and this reverse had a chilling effect upon Nova Scotia. Presently, however, a



FIG. 131.—Major-General Sir John Harvey, Governor of Newfoundland, 1841. (Bonycastle's "Newfoundland in 1842.")

new election was held in New Brunswick, and the Federalists won a decisive victory, and thereupon the federative zeal of Nova Scotia took on fresh life.

It took two years and a half—until March, 1867—for the British Parliament to complete its work on the British North America act, and in the meantime the Canadas were subjected to much wanton annoyance by the so-called Fenian raids from the United States. These acts of aggression were not creditable to our people, who surely might with proper diligence have prevented them. It is true that the people of the United States

had suffered some irritation from acts of aggression emanating from Canada, as well as from England. During the civil war, divers Southern sympathizers from the Northern states had sought refuge in Canada, and thence had on one occasion crossed the frontier into Vermont and plundered the town of St. Albans. This outrage led the Canadian government to patrol the frontier with a military force. The people of the United States were very angry over the depredations of rebel cruisers which had escaped from English ports. But in the very same breath in which they condemned the St. Albans raid and the exploits of the *Alabama*, many people were heard to wish success for the lawless acts of the Fenians: so common is it for people, with utter unconsciousness of the logical absurdity and moral wickedness of it, to commit the very acts for which they blame other people. It is pleasant to add that in 1871 a Fenian raid into Manitoba was suppressed and its leader arrested by a force of United States troops stationed on the frontier, a worthy incident for the glorious year that witnessed the Treaty of Washington.

The province of Manitoba was organized in 1870, and in the following year British Columbia, with Vancouver Island, was incorporated with the Dominion of Canada. The government of British Columbia, in accepting the Canadian constitution, made it a condition that the Dominion government should at once take steps toward the building of a transcontinental railway. This was a gigantic undertaking involving some of the most difficult engineering in the world, and at times the delay seemed so vexatious that whispers of secession were now and then heard in British Columbia. But at length in 1885 the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed. Its length from Quebec to the city of Vancouver is 3025 miles, so that it is considerably shorter than any other of the six lines now crossing the continent; and taken in connection with the shorter ocean passages, it brings London nearer to Hong-Kong by 1400 miles than any other route. There can thus be no doubt that a great future is in store for the cities of Victoria and Vancouver as well as for the whole province of British Columbia, a country which in some respects stands foremost in the western hemisphere for attractiveness in scenery and climate. The capital of Manitoba and the largest city in the Canadian Northwest is Winnipeg, formerly called Fort Garry (Fig. 132). Since the completion of the railroad, the great area formerly known as Rupert's Land has been brought under the Dominion government. This region was formerly governed by the Hudson Bay Company, which was organized in the reign of Charles II., and one of the leading members of which was his cousin, Prince Rupert.

Its purpose was the fur-trade, and in its organization and career it has been one of the most remarkable commercial companies known to history. Its discipline is as strict as that of an army or of an ocean steamer, and during the two centuries and more of its existence, not a single instance of dishonesty has ever been detected among its officials. In former times the Hudson Bay Company exercised sovereignty over the great Northwest, but now its sovereign powers have terminated and the northwestern territories form a portion of the Dominion. These territories are Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, Alberta, Athabasca, Keewatin, Ungava, Franklin, Mackenzie, and Yukon. In course of time we may expect to see these territories developed into thriving states.

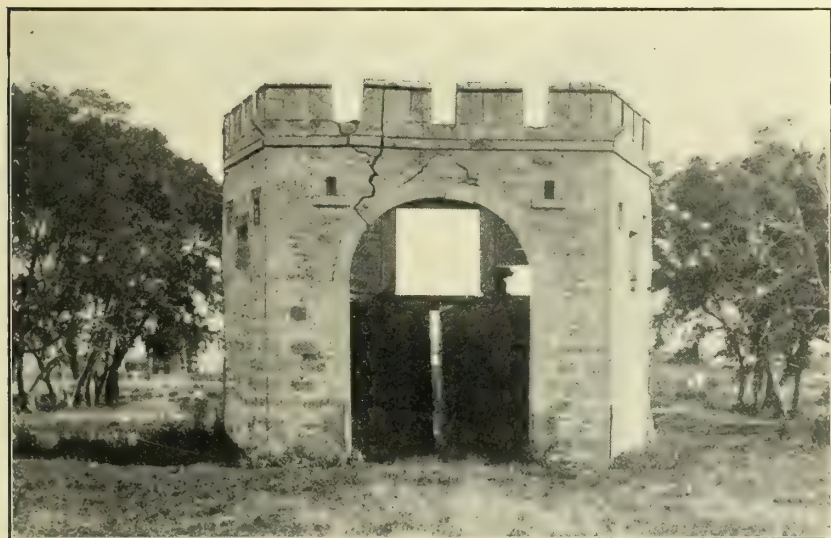


FIG. 132.—View of Fort Garry, Winnipeg. (From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

The constitution of Canada is modelled after the British constitution rather than that of the United States: that is to say, it has created a cabinet government instead of a presidential government. The Dominion government is conducted by three powers. 1. The governor-general, with his council of thirteen ministers who are members of Parliament and hold office only so long as they can command a majority in that body. The governor-general is appointed by the crown—that is to say, by the British prime minister—and holds office for five years. He is commander-in-chief of the Canadian army and navy, and he appoints all judges except police magistrates and justices of the peace, who are appointed by the provincial governments. He has the royal power of

pardoning criminals. In one respect his power is much greater than that of the king, inasmuch as he can withhold his assent from an act of Parliament, while the king cannot. 2. The Senate consists of members summoned by the governor-general; and once summoned, they hold office for life. A senator must be a British subject, must live in the province which he represents, and must possess property to the value of at least \$4000. 3. The House of Commons is elected by the people and must be dissolved at the end of five years unless it has previously been dissolved by the governor-general. Every member of the House must be a British subject and must hold property to the value of at least \$2500. At first the number of members for the Province of Quebec, as Lower Canada was thenceforth to be called, was sixty-five; and it



FIG. 133.—Parliament House at Ottawa. (From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

was arranged that this number should remain constant, while after each decennial census the representation should be so adjusted that the representatives from each of the other provinces should bear the same ratio to its population as that borne by the number sixty-five to the population of Quebec. The Province of Upper Canada was then named Ontario and the seat of government was fixed at the little town of Ottawa (Fig. 133), just on the frontier between Quebec and Ontario. The seven provinces which form the Dominion have each its local Parliament and administration, with a lieutenant-governor who is appointed by the governor-general. They have the power to regulate their own local affairs as completely as the states of the American Union. In each of the provinces, as well as in the Dominion government, there is a

responsible ministry which goes out of office when it fails to command a majority. Quebec and Nova Scotia have each two legislative chambers, a Council corresponding to our Senate, and an Assembly corresponding to our House of Representatives. But in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Ontario, Manitoba, and British Columbia, there is no upper House. The membership of the legislative assemblies is as follows : Prince Edward Island, 30 ; Nova Scotia, 38 ; New Brunswick, 41 ; Quebec, 73 ; Ontario, 94 ; Manitoba, 40 ; British Columbia, 33 ; and the northwest territories, 26. The affairs of these territories are managed by a lieutenant-governor. The division of powers between the local governments and the federal government is closely similar to that in the United States.

The day upon which this great act of federation was consummated was July 1, 1867, and this day is now the national holiday of Canada, as the Fourth of July is the national holiday of the United States. The first prime minister of the Dominion was Sir John Macdonald, and among the incidents which marked his administration one of the most important was the acquisition of Rupert's Land, that mighty region watered by the Saskatchewan and Mackenzie rivers, which is doubtless one day destined to be the garden of the world, but which popular ignorance has supposed to be an arctic desert. The acquisition of this territory was the occasion of a brief outbreak of rebellion in the country about the Red River of the North. There were some 10,000 or 12,000 settlers in that country, mostly half-breeds of French-and-Indian blood. They frowned upon this advancing and all-grasping civilization, preferring to hunt for peltries or to till their squalid farms without the help or interference of surveyors and railroads. Upon these elements of discontent it has been thought that some ferment of Fenian blarney was working. At all events, in 1869 a rebellion broke out, headed by a half-breed, Louis Riel, who had been educated at Montreal for the priesthood. This rebellion was suppressed in 1870 by a small force under Sir Garnet Wolseley. Riel, however, survived and was some time afterward chosen a member of the Canadian Parliament, but the House expelled him. Along with Riel survived the causes of the trouble, which were largely implicated with the disappearance of the bison and the encroachment of agricultural civilization upon the life of hunters. The Saskatchewan rebellion of 1885 found in Riel its foremost leader. It was suppressed by Canadian troops after several months of fighting and considerable bloodshed, after which Riel and several of his followers were found guilty of treason and hanged.

Our sketch of Canada is necessarily very slight, but it would be inexcusable to omit the names of some of her universities, such as King's College, Nova Scotia, 1789; the University of New Brunswick, 1800; McGill College, Montreal, 1813; Dalhousie College, Nova Scotia, 1821; the University of Toronto, 1827; Acadia College, Nova Scotia, 1838; Queen's College, Ontario, 1841; Bishop's College, Quebec, 1843; Trinity College, Ontario, 1852; Laval University, Quebec, 1852; University of Manitoba at Winnipeg, 1877. Among the many eminent scientific names of Canada may be especially mentioned those of two great geologists, Sir William Logan, a native of Montreal, and Sir William Dawson, of Pictou, Nova Scotia. To a Canadian, Sandford Fleming, we owe that admirable system of standard time which has so greatly

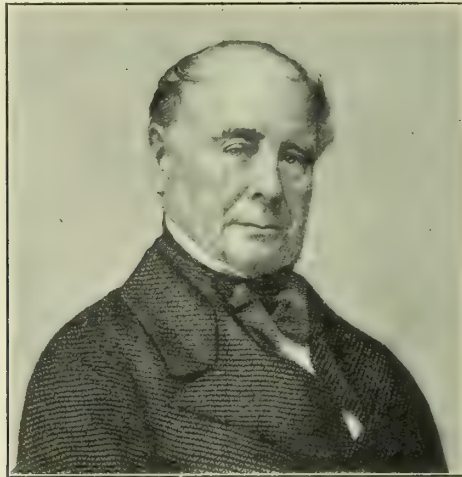


FIG. 134.—Thomas Chandler Haliburton (Sam Slick).

facilitated railroad management throughout North America. In lighter literature the Canadian name most widely known is that of Thomas Chandler Haliburton (Fig. 134), or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the personage most widely known is Haliburton under the name of Sam Slick. This writer has for two generations had a hold upon the affections of the English race like that which has been enjoyed in our own time by Mark Twain. Among eminent Canadian works of scholarship should be mentioned the great "History of Canada" in ten volumes by Kingsford, the "History of Parliamentary Government" by Alpheus Todd, and the various historical writings of Sir John Bourinot. Among the eminent men who had won fame in the mother country before coming to identify their later work with that of Canadian literature may be

mentioned Goldwin Smith and the late Sir Daniel Wilson ; while on the other hand, Canada has given to the mother country at least one distinguished man of science in George Romanes. In recent days one of the most brilliant and inspiring of books has come from Canada in "Flame Electricity and the Camera," by George Hes. Canada has also much highly creditable work to show in the fields of poetry and the fine arts.

The question has been sometimes rather lazily agitated in newspapers and in conversation, whether Canada is ever likely to become annexed to the United States. Without attempting to read the future, one can see that the longer the Dominion goes on expanding and intensifying its national consciousness by memories of national problems attacked and solved, the more is it likely to go on pursuing its own



FIG. 135.—Eskimo carving in walrus ivory. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ix.)

course. It certainly does not look at present as if a union between the United States and the Dominion were ever likely to come about in the ordinary way. What is more probable is, that both these great countries will at some future time become joined with Australasia, South Africa, and the British Islands in a grand federal union of English-speaking people.

Toward its northern limits the Dominion of Canada gradually becomes an arctic barren, incapable of supporting life except through fishing and walrus-hunting in the icy seas (Fig. 135). Concerning this circumpolar region, the only history worth recounting is that of the attempts which brave men have made to explore it, and on this interesting subject our limited space allows us to say but few words,

We saw, in an early chapter of our history, how a Norwegian settlement was made in Greenland in the tenth century of our era by Eric the Red. That settlement kept up a brisk intercourse with Europe



FIG. 136.—Eskimo flint lance-head. (Powell's "Annual Reports, U. S. Bureau of Ethnology," vol. ix.)

until late in the fourteenth century, at which time the mention of it decreases in frequency. Early in the fifteenth century it seems to have become lost to sight. Some have attributed the ruin of the little colony to the "black death" which wrought such frightful havoc throughout Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century, and some have attributed it to attacks by Eskimos (Fig. 136). But it seems doubtful whether the black death ever reached Iceland, so that it is more than doubtful if it can have affected Greenland. The attacks of Eskimos certainly did destroy the western settlements of Norwegians in 1349, and thirty years later those barbarians made an assault upon the eastern settlement; but what was probably most important was the fact that about 1390 Queen Margaret of Norway made the Greenland trade a royal monopoly, thereby causing it to languish, so that the Greenland coast became an unprofitable place for men to stay in.

Certain it is that the old Norwegian colony perished or was dispersed, and it was not until 1720 that Scandinavians again visited the old haunts and took possession of Greenland. This enterprise was conducted by Hans Egede, a Danish missionary of very remarkable personal qualities. Egede pursued the policy of converting the natives to Christianity and teaching them how to improve their condition by adopting such civilized methods as were applicable to their circumstances. Under his leadership was founded a Danish colony which has maintained itself until the present day. It numbers some 10,000 or 12,000 souls, and does a thriving business in the hunting of seal and walrus, as well as in the catching of fish.

It is, however, men of English blood and speech who have done most of the work in the circumpolar region. The rediscovery of Greenland in the year 1585 was the work of the great mariner, John Davis, whose name remains upon the strait between Greenland and Labrador. Within that strait a great oceanic bay commemorates the dauntless William Baffin. If we sail among the wilderness of islands and chan-

nels west of Baffin Bay, the names of Lancaster Sound, North Devon, North Somerset, Melville Sound, and Prince Albert Sound tell of the nation which first explored those parts; while if from Baffin Bay we turn northward, headed straight for the Pole, we first pass through the sound which commemorates Sir Thomas Smith, first treasurer of the Virginia Company; and passing on through Robeson Channel, named after one of our Secretaries of the Navy, we come to Grant Land, Lincoln Sea, and finally Cape Washington, scarcely more than 400 miles from the Pole. The history of exploration in these regions may be divided into two epochs: first, that in which the object was the discovery of a northwestern passage to the Indies; second, that in which, the northwestern passage having been discovered, the object was to reach the North Pole.

The search for a northwestern passage began soon after the end of Magellan's voyage of circumnavigation in 1521. Perhaps Ayllon in 1524 might be reckoned as the first of these explorers, though he got no farther northward than James River in Virginia, where he turned his attention to founding a Spanish colony. Among the first to accomplish much in Arctic waters was Elizabeth's great captain, Sir Martin Frobisher. After the days of Frobisher, Davis, and Baffin, little was done and small interest was felt until in 1753 Benjamin Franklin succeeded in getting a schooner fitted out in Philadelphia, which explored the coast of Labrador and entered Hudson Strait. A much grander affair was the voyage of James Cook in 1776-79. Cook passed through Bering Strait with some intention of finding an eastward passage to the Atlantic, but rightly judged that the season was too late. Then there was a lull until 1818, when Captain Ross with Lieutenant Parry made an expedition through Davis Strait, which accomplished but little. In the following year Parry commanded an expedition which penetrated Lancaster Sound and Barrow Strait as far as Melville Island. In 1821 Parry returned to the charge, trying the less available route through Hudson Strait, where after two years of indefatigable exertion he was baffled in the attempt to pass through the strait between Melville Peninsula and Cockburn Island, the strait which still bears the name of Parry's two ships, *Fury* and *Hecla*. The next attempt was made in 1829 by Sir John Ross in an expedition fitted out by Felix Booth, one of the sheriffs of London, at his own personal expense. This expedition left upon the map the names of Boothia Felix, Gulf of Boothia, and Sheriff's Harbor; but on the whole, its results were not encouraging.

Gathering fresh courage from repeated disaster, our British cousins sent out another expedition in 1845. The commander was the famous Sir John Franklin (Fig. 137), who was then in his seventieth year. His ships were the *Erebus* and *Terror*, with 128 men. This expedition sailed from England in May, 1845, and about two months later the ships were seen moored to an iceberg in Baffin Bay. Nothing more was heard of them for two years, and then the anxiety had become so great that three expeditions were fitted out to search for Sir John Franklin; one by way of Lancaster Sound, one through Bering Strait, and one down the Mackenzie River. The first one, commanded by Sir James Ross,

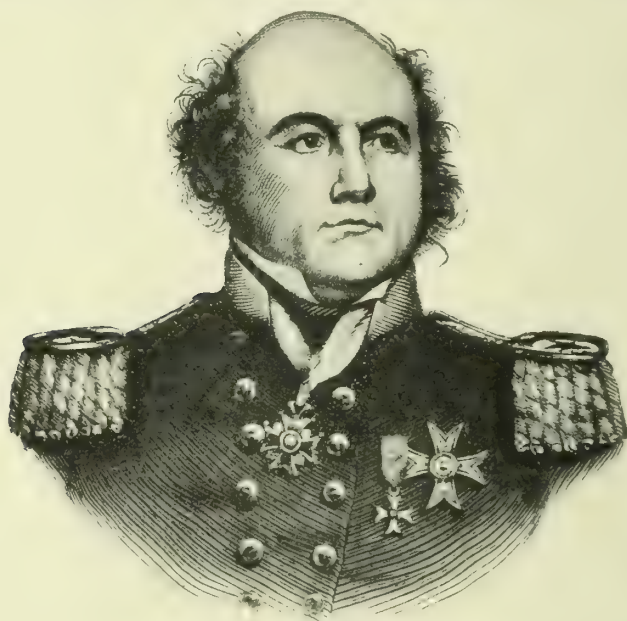


FIG. 137.—Sir John Franklin. (Nourse's "Hall's Second Expedition.")

got only as far as Leopold Island; the others accomplished but little. In 1850 no less than seven expeditions started out to prosecute the search for the missing navigators. Perhaps the most interesting achievement in these voyages was that of Captain Robert McClure, who entered through Bering Strait and proceeded as far as Prince of Wales Strait between Prince Albert Land and Banks Land. Here, after being stopped by ice, McClure's men explored the eastern coast of Banks Land until they caught sight of the sea to the east and assured themselves that they had practically solved the problem of the Northwest Passage. In the following summer McClure tried to force his way

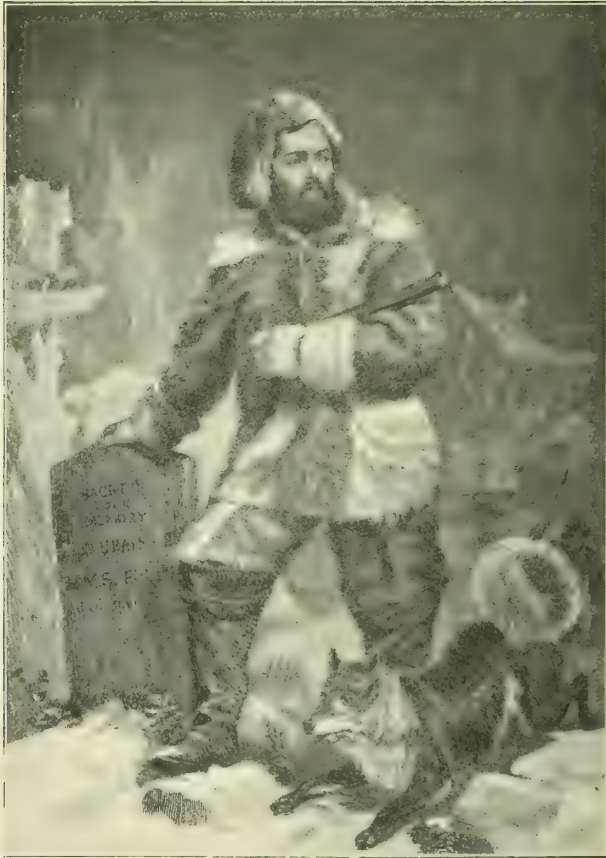
through Prince of Wales Strait into Melville Sound, an achievement which would have completed his discovery, but which was defeated by ice before the end of August. Then this resourceful captain retreated around the western shores of Banks Land, and had arrived as far as the Bay of Mercy when he was again stopped by ice. In the following spring, after many adventures, McClure returned to England by way of Davis Strait, being the first of captains to go in at one end of the Arctic Ocean and out at the other, for which brilliant achievement he was knighted, while £10,000 were divided among his officers and crew. The other expeditions accomplished considerable in the way of exploration, and traces of Sir John Franklin were found on Beechey Island, but no clew to his fate was yet discovered.



FIG. 138.—Henry Grinnell.

In 1850 an expedition was made by two ships, the *Advance* and the *Rescue*, which were lent to the United States government by Henry Grinnell (Fig. 138), a prominent merchant of New York. Dr. Elisha Kent Kane (Fig. 139), the surgeon of this expedition, afterward wrote its history. The Grinnell vessels, passing through Lancaster Sound, saw the same traces of Franklin at Beechey Island. Presently getting caught in the ice, they drifted through the Wellington Channel until they saw the island which they called Grinnell Land, between Bathurst Island and North Cornwall. The most thrilling feature in this voyage was the long and dangerous drift, from which the ships at length escaped in safety. Soon after its return to New York, Dr. Kane was authorized by the United States government to make a fresh attempt; and he sailed in the *Advance* in May, 1853, with seventeen companions. It occurred to him that

Sir John Franklin might have gone northward through Smith Sound, and accordingly he turned his prow in that direction, and by the end of August had reached the seventy-ninth parallel, where he remained locked in ice for nearly two years. As the provisions were giving out, it then became necessary to abandon the ship and travel upon sledges to



E. K. Kane

FIG. 139. Dr. Elisha Kent Kane.

Upernavik, where he prepared to embark on a Danish brig that was bound for the Shetland Islands. Meanwhile, anxiety was felt for Kane's party, and a relief expedition was sent out which met him and took him on board at Disco. Kane had been farther north than any navigator before him. He entered a large sheet of water named after him,

Kane Basin, which he incorrectly supposed to be an open polar sea, and he charted a portion of the coast to the west of it, known as Grinnell Land, which should not be confounded with the Grinnell Land reached upon the preceding voyage. Kane may be said to have made an important contribution toward the new problem of approaching the North Pole, although he had taken the wrong route for finding vestiges of Franklin. Those vestiges were found at last in 1859 by Captain McClintock, and thus the mystery of fourteen years was solved. Among various unmistakable vestiges of Franklin's party—skeletons and tools, forks and spoons, and a silver plate on which was engraved



FIG. 140.—Lieutenant Robert Edwin Peary. (From photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.)

the lost commander's name—found in the dreary solitudes of King William Land, there was discovered a document which gave the most important facts in the history of the party down to the end of April, 1848. After he had last been seen in Baffin Bay, Franklin had proceeded through Lancaster Sound and thence advanced through Wellington Channel as far as Northumberland Sound in latitude 77° ; thence he had stood southward between Bathurst and Cornwallis Islands—proceeding, most likely, into Peel Sound; there his ship was frozen up in September, 1846, and in the following June, Sir John Franklin died. His officers and crew remained in the ships until April, 1848, when they abandoned them with the intention of finding their way by land to

the Great Fish River. There the narrative abruptly stops, and there can be little doubt that the party of 105 survivors perished from hunger, cold, and fatigue. It was Lieutenant Schwatka of the United States army who made the discoveries which finally established these facts.

In the course of this search for Franklin, our knowledge of the Arctic archipelago was greatly increased in many directions. The discovery of the Northwest Passage, when consummated by McClure, was obviously of small commercial value, but the geographic curiosity which had been aroused was not easily satisfied. Captain Hayes, who had been one of Kane's companions, returned to Smith Sound in 1860 in the hope of finding the open polar sea, but he reached latitude $81^{\circ} 35'$ without finding it. Later experiments in the same direction were made by Hall in 1871, Nares in 1875, and Greely in 1881-84, and the highest latitude reached was Cape Washington, $83^{\circ} 24'$, by Lockwood and Brainerd in May, 1882. Since then Lieutenant Peary (Fig. 140) has made important contributions to our knowledge of these highest latitudes, besides showing how it is possible to live for long periods of time in the polar regions without serious discomfort or danger. Another lesson of the same sort was taught by the Danish explorer, Fridtjof Nansen (Fig. 141), when in 1888 he led a party sheer across the interior glaciers of Greenland from Umivik to Godthaab. Making good use of the experience gained upon this expedition and applying to the problem the knowledge of the prevailing oceanic drifts which had been gained by previous explorers, Nansen started in 1893 from the Gulf of Nordvik in Siberia and advanced northward through Nordenskjöld Sea until in September his good ship, the *Fram*, was locked among the ice-floes. The drift of the ice then carried him more than 1000 miles, if measured straight across the map, but twice as far if reckoned by the fluctuations of the route, until the ship was released from the ice-pack in longitude 12° east from Greenwich, or about 300 miles north of the island of Spitzbergen, whence she had a prosperous voyage to Sweden. In the course of this remarkable journey the latitude of $86^{\circ} 14'$ was reached by Nansen, April 7, 1895. From that point a northward journey of about the distance that separates New York from Boston would have brought him to the Pole.

We may now change our climate as we devote a few words to the British West Indies. At the outset, all the islands in and about the Caribbean Sea were the property of Spain, according to the celebrated bull of Pope Alexander VI.; but about 1625 English and French fleets

began seizing upon these places, and in 1660 those two powers proceeded to divide between themselves the possessions which they had acquired from Spain. Thus Barbadoes, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat went to England, while Grenada, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and others went to France. But far more important than all these was Jamaica, which Oliver Cromwell had taken from the Spaniards in 1655. It was unquestionably a master-stroke of British policy to make such a settlement in the West Indies, and Cromwell thought so highly of Jamaica that he tried, happily without success, to persuade the settlers of New England



FIG. 141.—Fridtjof Nansen.

to migrate thither in a great body. When he failed to induce New Englanders to go there, Cromwell made grants of land in Jamaica to the soldiers who had conquered it, and shipped thither as many people as he could from the British Islands. With the aid of wholesale slave labor, great industries soon sprang up. Cotton and aloes, ginger and logwood, sugar, molasses, and rum soon made the Jamaica trade a mine of wealth for Great Britain.

In the course of the various wars in which Spain, France, and England took part, from Cromwell's time to the downfall of the first French empire, England conquered all the French and Spanish West

Indies except Santo Domingo and Porto Rico ; but in many cases these conquests were afterward restored by treaty. At the present day, England possesses Barbadoes, St. Christopher, Nevis, Montserrat, the Bahamas, Jamaica, the Virgin Islands, Anguilla, Antigua, Dominica, Santa Lucia, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, and Trinidad ; France has kept Martinique, Guadeloupe, Desirade, St. Bartholomew, and Marie Galante ; Spain has lost everything ; the Spanish part of Santo Domingo has been independent since 1843 ; of the French part known as Haiti, we have told the story in an earlier chapter ; and Denmark retains St. Thomas, St. John, and St. Croix. The Dutch possess St. Eustatius, Saba, Curaçao, Bonaire, and Oruba ; and, finally, St. Martin is shared between France and the Netherlands. Commercially, the value of these islands can hardly be overrated. It was estimated at the time of the revolt of Haiti that France was drawing annually more wealth from her portion of that island than Spain had ever drawn from the mines of Mexico and Peru taken together. Inasmuch as the sources of this wealth are purely agricultural, involving the labor of negroes in that tropical climate, it has naturally followed that these islands have been the scene of slavery in its blackest and most odious forms. It would be hard to point to any portion of the earth's surface more deeply saturated with cruel abominations than the West Indies. More than a century ago, this state of things arrested the attention of Wilberforce, Zachary Macauley, and other English philanthropists, and the agitation for the abolition of slavery was carried on to such good purpose that in 1833 all the slaves in the British West Indies were set free, while their owners were compensated. The prophecy which was heard from many well-meaning people, that this wholesome act would be followed by horrors like those of Santo Domingo, has not yet been fulfilled.

CHAPTER VII.

SPANISH AMERICA SINCE ITS LIBERATION.

IN the last chapter of the preceding volume a brief account was given of the agency of Simon Bolivar in the great movement which liberated so many of the South American states from the yoke of Spain. It was a dream of some of the patriots concerned in those events that the liberated states might be brought to unite in a great federal republic covering the better part of the continent, after the example set by the United States; but the grade of political development was too low for this. There was one profound difference between the attainment of independence by the English colonies and by the Spanish. The English colonies which formed the United States had always enjoyed political freedom; they had never been subjected to any oppression worth mentioning from the British government. Their protest against the Townsend act, which ended in the War of Independence, was resistance to legislation which contained the seeds of future oppression. The English colonists were men of consummate political training, who had inherited the knowledge of free institutions for more than a thousand years. On the other hand, the Spanish colonists had languished under an oppressive despotism which extorted from every man an excessive share of the fruits of his labor; and as for the working of free political institutions, they had no experience whatever in that line. With such a lack of experience, their public men were easily led astray by mere phrases, and it was necessary to learn by cruel experience that in the world of politics all that glitters is not gold. So turbulent has been the career of most of the Spanish-American republics that their name has become in the United States a kind of byword and reproach. Confident generalizations are jauntily made about the incapacity of the "Latin race" for free constitutional government; but the more one looks into the history of these South American states, the more one feels convinced that this is not the true view. These states, after winning their independence, had to begin their fight for freedom. They found themselves encumbered with various relics of mediaevalism, and, considering the obstacles which have beset them, their record must be pronounced a good

one. The last half of the nineteenth century was for the larger part of Spanish America an era of political education and of progress, material and intellectual. Yet such a statement as this needs sundry qualifications because things have gone differently in different places, and it is difficult to make any generalized statement which shall be entirely correct.

The federation effected in Bolivar's time comprised only Ecuador, New Granada, and Venezuela, which called themselves the United States of Colombia. But this federation was short-lived. The vastness of its territory and the want of contiguity among its parts would alone have sufficed to make it so. With the fall of this confederacy the independent history of New Granada began in a period of anarchy



FIG. 142.—Francisco José de Caldas, the Colombian naturalist, shot in 1816. (From "Magazine of American History," vol. xii.)

lasting two years. Then Bolivar's old companion, Santander, was chosen to the Presidency and gave the country four years of quiet. Then followed twelve years of trouble. The oligarchs and clericals got the upper hand, and their favorite instrument of government was the gallows. This state of things reached its climax during the ministry of Dr. Ospina, and in 1849 led to a revolution which brought the democratic leader, José Lopez, into the foreground. This President met with a fate which is not uncommon among those who promise more than they find it possible to perform. The growth of manufactures had brought into existence a class of craftsmen in the towns who were for the most part fiercely radical, and with the aid of their votes General Obando was elected President in 1853. The programme of these

Radicals contained, as usual, a mixture of good, bad, and doubtful measures; they wished a complete disestablishment of the church, along with a protective tariff and universal suffrage; and when they found that they were not likely to attain their ends by constitutional means, they resorted to revolution, and in April, 1854, they set up Obando as dictator of the republic. After a year of fighting, this revolution was suppressed. At the same time so much had been accomplished in the way of decentralization that in 1858, under the Presidency of Ospina, New Granada was divided into eight states bound together by a federal tie after the fashion of the United States. This change operated to the advantage of Ospina and his party, who insisted upon reactionary



FIG. 143.—Caracas. (From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

measures until civil war broke out. After a bloody struggle the state-rights party triumphed in 1863. The official name of New Granada was then changed and the loose federation of which it consisted was henceforth called the United States of Colombia.

As for Venezuela, when she set up for herself in 1826 she took to herself a so-called constitution under which Bolivar's former comrade, Paez, ruled in the character of beneficent despot for twenty-one years. At length in 1847 the election of a President who would not submit to be led by Paez showed that people were becoming desirous of reform. Thereupon Paez took the steamer from Caracas (Fig. 143) to New York, where he made a few speeches intended to fire the American heart in the cause of freedom. He assured them that the constitution of Venezuela

was in danger. His hearers, whose zeal for liberty outran their discrimination, subscribed liberally to aid this despot, and presently he was enabled to land in Venezuela and begin the game of civil war. He was, however, defeated and banished. Tadeo Monagas, the President who had refused to be led by Paez, now flourished promises of reform with one hand, while with the other he proceeded to enlarge his own authority. Against this policy the Moderate Liberals united with the Conservatives, and the result was a civil war which gave Monagas dictatorial powers for ten years. By 1859 the state-rights question blended with the other elements of factional strife, and after five years of turbulence the republic was reorganized in 1864 as the "United States of Venezuela." This



FIG. 144.—A street in Quito. (From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

confederation consisted of twenty states, with a constitution copied in most essential points from that of the United States. The period since then has been one of prolonged turbulence with frequent revolutions, in the course of which one feature is most distinctly visible. There has been a determination to weaken the clerical party, and this has been shown in the suppression of monasteries and in the separation of the national church from that of Rome. In spite of all the political turbulence, Venezuela has made a very considerable material advance. Its resources are very great. Its mountains abound in copper and coal, and its soil is well adapted for sugar and coffee as well as for those characteristic American products, indigo, cotton, and tobacco, while cocoa reaches in Venezuela its highest perfection.

The history of Ecuador, of which Quito (Fig. 144) is the capital, has been during the past seventy years much like that of its northern neighbors, and presents no points of especial interest for so brief a sketch as the present. If we turn to the states on the river La Plata, on the other hand, we meet with many instructive contrasts. The states of Paraguay, Uruguay, and the Argentine Confederation have a comparatively temperate climate, together with a population chiefly derived from Europe at dates considerably subsequent to the Spanish conquests of South America. The original basis of industry in the Argentine states was the rearing of immense herds of cattle for their beef, hides, and tallow. The vast plains of that country are favorable for the rapid multiplication of cattle and horses; and since in late years sheep-farming has been introduced, the



FIG. 145.—Buenos Ayres.

Argentine republic is fast becoming one of the foremost wool-producing countries in the world. The export trade which carries all these products out of the country has from the beginning been concentrated in Buenos Ayres, which has thus become the largest city in South America, with a population approaching 1,000,000, and with some of the finest public buildings in the world (Fig. 145). To understand the history of Buenos Ayres and the country which ministers to its growth, we must bear in mind that the conditions of life have always somewhat resembled those of our great Western ranches, or of the Australian sheep-walks. There was thus comparatively little ancient Spanish tradition in the Argentine states. The oligarchs and clericals had but little power there. The society was naturally democratic. Hence the difficulties under which these states have labored have been very different from those which have afflicted the Colombian republics. Some of the principal difficulties of the Argentines have consisted in the strife between the federal and unitary principles and in the jealousy between city and country. Between the

polished citizens of Buenos Ayres, possessed of that cosmopolitan and urbane temper characteristic of great seaports always accessible to foreign products and foreign ideas, and on the other hand the rustic farmers and dashing cowboys of the interior, full of virile energy, but unversed in the graces of life and apt to entertain a contempt for "tenderfeet," the feeling is such as to lend peculiar acrimony to disputes arising from diversity of political interests. The Argentine provinces as long ago as 1816 united in a confederation which was supposed to be like that of the United States, but this attempt at union was premature and soon collapsed. The Banda Oriental, as Uruguay was then called, set the example of seceding in 1820, and it was soon followed by Paraguay. South of the Great River the union for a long time trembled in the balance. The citizens of Buenos Ayres aimed at extending over the interior country a sway somewhat analogous to that which ancient Athens had exercised as the head of the Delian confederacy. Moreover, as all foreign trade had, in accordance with Spanish notions, been confined to their port, they wished to perpetuate such a state of things and make their city the sole distributing centre for the interior. On the other hand, the inner provinces wished to secure ports of their own wherever possible on the coast or the great rivers, and to secure for themselves equality of representation in the federal government, so that Buenos Ayres would be only one among a group of peers. Thus the provinces were mainly federal in politics, while the great city was mainly unitary; and the history of Argentina has been one in which the ideas and principles current in the capital have been slowly but irresistibly winning converts and gaining ground in the rural districts. This influence has been steadily in favor of the increase of enlightenment.

A few words must here be said about Paraguay, which, as already observed, refused to join in the fortunes of the Argentine confederacy. The history of Paraguay has been as singular as its geographical position is isolated, and the isolation has had more or less to do with the singularity. During the eighteenth century the Indian population of Paraguay was trained to obedience by Jesuit missionaries, who ruled the country with benevolent but autocratic sway. It was an ignorant population, knowing little of the arts and industries except a rude agriculture; and to European ideas, save for those imparted by the Jesuits, it was inaccessible. Accordingly, in the general uprising against Spain, Paraguay became at once the prey of an unscrupulous adventurer. In 1811 a revolutionary committee decreed Paraguay's independence of Spain, and also of Buenos Ayres, which the latter republic immediately

acknowledged. The new government of Paraguay was conducted after the most approved Roman model, having two consuls sitting in two curule chairs named respectively Caesar's chair and Pompey's chair. The latter of these was occupied by Fulgencio Wegros, an uneducated farmer and political cipher. The Caesar in this one-sided partnership was José Rodriguez de Francia, commonly known as Dr. Francia, who had been a Spanish official. His last name indicates the origin of his father, who was a Roderigues from France and had come to Paraguay to found some cigar manufactories. Roderigues had married a Spanish lady of Paraguay and had designed his son for the priesthood. But after taking a doctor's degree in canon law and occupying a professor's chair in the college at Asuncion, the son preferred a more active life and began the practice of law. As an advocate, Francia won great success, and his integrity in money-matters gave him a great hold upon men. He was economical in habits and cared nothing for money, but of personal power his greed was insatiable. At the time when he took his seat in Caesar's chair he was in his sixtieth year, a small man with rather stolid countenance except for the coal-black, piercing eyes. At the outset he adopted the Caesarean method of accumulating all the offices in his own person; but after three years he found even the figure-head in Pompey's chair an encumbrance, and persuaded his congress of simple-minded farmers to appoint him dictator for three years. After two of these three years had elapsed, it was decided that the safety of the republic required that he should be appointed dictator for life, and it was so. From that time forth for a quarter of a century, until his death in 1840, Dr. Francia acted upon the famous maxim of Louis XIV., "The state is myself." He made the laws and executed them. He monopolized the control of all business, and no man in Paraguay could buy or sell any commodity whatever without his permission. He fixed the tariff on imported goods and personally superintended, so far as possible, the collection of duties. He organized the army and commanded it. He drew plans for the public buildings of Asuncion. His freaks were many and curious, as when he wished to have a gallows built and offered the job to a shoemaker, promising him high pay if the work should be well done, and if otherwise, the privilege of being the first man hanged on it. This little man stalked about the streets in a blue coat with gold lace over a white waistcoat and breeches, armed with a huge sword and brace of pistols, and always attended by a body-guard; and as a precaution against assassins, he changed his bed-room every night. In order that his realm might suffer no contamination

from foreign ideas, he prohibited foreigners from entering the country. If he suspected anybody of disaffection, he had him promptly hanged or shot, one of his first victims being the occupant of Pompey's chair. Frequently he subjected his victims to prolonged torture, either to make them disclose the names of accomplices, or perhaps in mere wantonness; for between Dr. Francia and Nero, in point of indifference to human suffering, there was little to choose. Carlyle in one of his characteristic essays truly declares that "nothing could well shock the constitutional feeling of mankind as Dr. Francia has done." After his death, it is said that many of his poor people regarded his memory with superstitious awe and made the sign of the cross when his name was mentioned.

Not long after the establishment of Francia's rule in Paraguay, a most liberal constitutional government was inaugurated at Buenos Ayres by Rivadavia. This enlightened statesman was distinguished for encouraging the immigration of foreigners from Europe, a policy which has been productive of excellent results in the Argentine world. But it aroused intense opposition on the part of the rural population, and at last in 1827 Rivadavia gave up his unwelcome task, resigned his Presidency, and went to Europe. The affairs of Argentina now fell into the hands of the bucolic party, and these worthy but slow-witted ranchmen soon came under the sway of Juan Manuel de Rosas, himself a prominent *estanciero* or ranchman. Rosas secured the Presidency in 1829 and held it until 1833, when he went through the farce of a resignation, followed by a skillfully packed assembly which vested in him all political power as dictator. This dictatorship lasted until 1852. Rosas took Dr. Francia for his model, and in wholesale butchery far outdid his master. One of his methods of governing was almost unique in its shamelessness. He gathered together a large body of ruffians and blacklegs and formed them into a club for purposes of assassination. This club was known as the *Mashorca*. Whomsoever Rosas wished to remove from his path, he simply gave his name to this club and forthwith that man or woman was marked for death. In 1841 there were insurrections against his authority, but they were suppressed with frightful massacres. It has been calculated that in the course of his rule Rosas put to death about 20,000 of his fellow-creatures.

During this abominable tyranny the neighboring province north of the river La Plata became a refuge for people who were obliged to fly for their lives from Buenos Ayres. This eastern state or *Banda Oriental*, as we have seen, refused to join the Argentine Confederation, while

at the same time it was too weak to stand alone. For several years it was a bone of contention between Spanish Buenos Ayres and Portuguese Brazil, being overrun and annexed first by one and then by the other. At length in 1828 it was recognized as an independent state under the name of Uruguay. This is the smallest country in South America, having an area slightly larger than the state of Missouri, with a population in 1900 of rather less than 1,000,000, one-fourth of which is contained in the capital city, Montevideo (Fig. 146). Uruguay subsists chiefly by the exportation of hides and wool, and its admirable geographi-



FIG. 146.—Montevideo. (From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

cal situation between the ocean and the estuary of a great river has been favorable both to commerce and to education. In spite of the dreary political vicissitudes of which it has had its full share, Uruguay has always been extremely prosperous, and has an importance in the Spanish-American world quite out of proportion to its size. At the present day it has a great and rapidly increasing number of European immigrants of excellent quality.

We observed a moment ago that Uruguay long served as a shelter for refugees escaping from the monster Rosas. This naturally awakened his ire, and in 1841 his troops overran the republic of Uruguay, but failed in their attack upon Montevideo, which was defended with superb gallantry by a young Italian hero destined afterward to win immortal renown for the name of Garibaldi. The tyrant was now attacked by the united fleets of England and France, which blockaded Buenos Ayres and threw open the great river as far up as Paraguay. The recent death of Dr. Francia had in a measure freed that state, and

henceforth she was accessible to Europeans. The time was sure to come when people would no longer endure the atrocities of Rosas. In 1848 the smouldering embers broke out in flame. Urquiza, a wealthy *estanciero* or ranchman, was governor of the province of Entre Rios, adjacent to Uruguay. His revolt against Rosas was the signal for Brazil, Uruguay, and Paraguay to enter into an alliance for the purpose of overthrowing the tyrant and maintaining the free navigation of the Great River. After a war of nearly four years Rosas was decisively defeated, but escaped to Europe without paying the just penalty for his crimes. As Urquiza was beginning to imitate his bad example, a fresh revolution overthrew him; and inasmuch as the supporters of the long tyranny were largely to be found in the inland provinces, Buenos Ayres seceded from the confederacy. Thereupon ensued a curious struggle between the inland farming states under the lead of Urquiza and the commercial Buenos Ayres under the celebrated Bartolomeo Mitre. During this period, liberal principles made rapid progress in Buenos Ayres; among other things, the New England system of common schools was introduced throughout the province. After eight years the commercial state proved too strong for the thirteen farming states. Her strength and prosperity served as an object-lesson to many worthy ranchmen, and finally in 1860 she terminated the war by entering the confederacy again upon her own terms. Many radical changes dictated by Buenos Ayres were accepted by the other states, and in the reconstructed confederation her great city became the federal capital and Mitre was elected President.

The new President soon found that affairs in Paraguay called for attention. Dr. Francia had been succeeded by another despot, Carlos Lopez, who reigned for twenty-two years. This Lopez was a man of broader mind than his predecessor; he allowed foreigners to settle in Paraguay, he built railways and turnpikes, and he helped to overthrow Rosas. Nevertheless, his government was very oppressive, as may be judged by the fact that the average rate of taxation exceeded 30 per cent. Upon his death in 1862 his son, Francisco Lopez, succeeded him. This young man had undertaken to broaden his mind by traveling in Europe. Unfortunately his breadth of view took the uncanny form of a comprehensive project for making himself "Emperor of America," and he devoted nearly all his bountiful tax-receipts to purchasing military stores. He began his arduous task by invading a sparsely settled province of Brazil, when greatly to his astonishment he found that empire allying itself with Uruguay and the Argentine

confederacy against him. Thus began the great Paraguayan war, which lasted from 1865 to 1870 and was as black with horrors as any war that can be named. It ended with the death of Lopez, who, after a career as cruel and abominable as that of Francia or Rosas, was run through with a spear on the battlefield. Careful estimates indicate that six-sevenths of the male population of Paraguay of fighting age perished in this atrocious war. From this blow the population has not recovered numerically. In 1857 a census gave it as 1,337,439; forty years later it was estimated at 600,000; but its character has considerably improved through the immigration of Argentines, Germans, Swiss, French, and English. It possesses industries of great value, such as timber, tobacco, sugar, hides, and mate, otherwise known as Paraguay tea, the exports of which amount to \$6,000,000 a year. After Mitre, the Argentine Confederation entered upon a new era of progress and comparative tranquillity under Dr. Sarmiento, one of the most eminent of Spanish-American statesmen. In view of its extent and natural resources, Argentina seems likely to become the most populous and powerful state of Spanish America. In respect of climate, it is far superior to its tropical neighbor, Brazil. Its industries offer strong inducements to immigrants, and for many years it has been receiving large numbers of thrifty Germans, together with Italians of a much higher class than those who come to the United States. It is calculated that Argentina could easily support a population of 300,000,000, and there can be no doubt that it is to play a very important part in the future.

The Spanish-American state, however, which at present stands far in advance of all the others is Chile. Several peculiarities of this interesting country call for mention. The Indian population of Chile was, in its capacity for civilization, far superior to any other in South America, in this respect coming near the level of Cherokees and Mohawks; but this population did not, to any great extent, mix with the Spaniards. The Araucanian remained haughtily aloof, like the Montenegrin in the Old World. Chile has comparatively few half-breeds. As for the Spanish population, it came chiefly from the Biscay provinces, which contain the sturdiest specimens of manhood that can be found in the Spanish peninsula. Moreover, these Spanish occupants of Chile did not live on great estates cultivated by slave labor, but cultivated their estates with their own hands or by the aid of hired laborers, very much as in New England. Thus from the start the elements of national life in Chile were sounder than in any other part of non-English America.

The climate of Chile is extremely salubrious, fresh, and stimulating to body and mind. The resources of the country are very extensive in gold and silver, mercury, lead, copper, coal, salt, tallow, hides, and cereals. With these advantages the population of Chile, which in 1763 numbered scarcely 100,000, had in 1900 nearly reached the figure of 3,000,000. The area of the country, after making due allowance for the regions of southern cold and the lofty mountain-tops, is greater than that of France, so that Chile may be expected to become an important power in the world. Having won her independence of Spain in 1818, largely through the aid of the Argentine confederacy, a period of fifteen years sufficed to quiet the turbulence which a period of revolution is apt to bring to the surface. In 1833 Chile adopted a constitution which is still in force. The framer of this constitution, Portales, was the chief minister of President Prieto, whose administration was from 1833 to 1841. Under Portales the government of Chile took on an aristocratic form which has since been but slightly modified by amendments to the constitution. No person can be elected to the Senate whose income is less than \$2000. The constitution resembles in many respects that of the United States, with the interesting difference that the President has a term of five years and is ineligible for re-election. From the complicated revolutions which have vexed most parts of Spanish America, Chile has been remarkably free, and she has not been tormented with the excessive officialism and clericalism which were among the worst legacies left by Spain.

Another important element in her success is to be found in her long coast-line and the nearness of her soil to the sea. This has made the work of railroad-building for carrying her products to her fifty or more seaports comparatively easy. This maritime character of the country is coupled with the fact that the Biscayan basis of the population ranks among the first in the world for seamanship. It was natural, therefore, that Chile should develop a large merchant-marine and a strong navy. In this work the Chileans were greatly helped by the genius and energy of William Wheelwright, a native of Newburyport in Massachusetts. It was Wheelwright who first established a line of ocean steamers between Panama and the ports of South America. Afterward he inaugurated a system of railways in Argentina and connected them with the Chilean ports by a line across the Andes. To this enterprise, civilization in the temperate zone of South America is greatly indebted.

In passing northward from Chile to Peru, we encounter a very different set of conditions, and we need not wonder that the latter country has

lagged behind in the march of civilization as notably as Chile has kept in the front. In regard to natural resources, indeed, Peru is the superior. Its wools are well known as the finest in the world, and there is not a child but has heard of its rich mines. A greater source of wealth than either of these is its inexhaustible supply of guano; but among all native resources there is nothing so important as an intelligent and enterprising population to make the proper use of nature's bounty. The population of Peru is still mainly Indian, as in the time of the Incas, with a small Spanish superstratum; and while the people have many excellent qualities, they have neither the robustness of fibre nor the training in self-government which enables nations to play leading parts in the drama of civilization. We need not wonder that when war broke out in 1879 between Peru and Chile and lasted five years, the former country should have been laid quite prostrate. Chile was victorious in every battle, and came out of the struggle with an increase of valuable territory, with her national debt greatly reduced, with her foreign trade more than doubled, and her annual revenue trebled; while Peru has been devoting the years since then to a slow and painful recovery.

In a former chapter we left the story of Mexico at the point where Iturbide was overthrown by Santa Anna, who had been one of his own officers. It was then decided that Mexico should be organized as a federation of states; in other words, the precedent set by the United States was to be copied. The Mexicans were politically children, and attached great importance to forms. Such political children are to be found even among ourselves, and are sometimes heard to say that we ought to sympathize with everything that is called a republic and the chief executive of which is called a president. So the Mexicans of 1824 fancied there was some supreme merit in the forms of a federal republic. There was one grave difference, however, between their country and the United States, which they failed to appreciate. Our thirteen states, when they broke off their connection with Great Britain, were experts in the art of self-government. All had their constitutions, all had been accustomed to constitutional government, and when they framed a federal republic it was an outgrowth from their experience. On the other hand, in Mexico the various provinces had never governed themselves, but had always had their affairs managed for them by Spanish officials, and when they formed themselves into a federal republic there was not a state among them which knew how to manage its own affairs any more than a six-months-old baby knows how to walk. Consequently they acted

under orders from the capital, where there was a neatly framed government copied from the one at Washington, consisting of a President, a Senate, and a Chamber of Deputies. In point of fact, these august bodies were composed of people who had grown up in the habit of cringing before soldiers, and consequently the real power was wielded by the head of the army—namely, by Santa Anna. He nominated the Presidents and dictated their policy, and in 1833 he became President himself. In 1835 this ridiculous federal system was abandoned and Mexico was consolidated into a single republic, which was governed during the greater part of the next twenty years by Santa Anna, and pretty much at his own sweet will. We have already seen how in Santa Anna's time the great state of Texas broke away from Mexico and became one of the United States, and we have seen how in the ensuing war Mexico was completely humbled and lost the immense territories of New Mexico and California. A condition of anarchy ensued, ending in the dictatorship of Santa Anna from 1853 to 1855.

Thus it might seem as if the unitary or centralizing policy had definitely triumphed in Mexico; but the principle of federalism, which seemed finally suppressed, now reared its head anew and called to its aid a most powerful ally. One of the greatest abuses under which the country suffered was the immunity enjoyed by the clergy. They constituted by far the most wealthy part of the community, yet they were practically exempt from taxation. This colossal abuse was an inheritance from the ancient state of things which existed in Spain and likewise in France until swept away by the great Revolution. The independence of Mexico, instead of curing the evil, merely enabled it to strike deeper roots; for whereas before, the opposition between Spanish officialism and the native Mexicans had tended to weaken the clergy, now this source of weakness was removed, and the clergy presented a solid front against all attempts at reform. Closely allied with the clergy were the great land-owners, who still retained privileges of a feudal character. The party which wished to compel the aristocrats and clergy to bear their fair share of the public burden were known as "*Puros*," or thorough-going Radicals. Among them were sundry political clubs formed upon the model of the political organizations in the city of New York, whence they were called "*Yorquinos*."

The triumph of the Radicals was precipitated by the assumption of the dictatorship by Santa Anna in 1853. The storm burst in 1855, and the dictator fled to Cuba. This victory of the *Yorquinos* opened the way for one of the most interesting personages of his time. Benito

Juarez was a pure-blooded Indian, descended from the ancient Nahuatl people, and he had grown to the age of twelve or fourteen before he could read or speak Spanish correctly. Juarez was educated for the priesthood in a Franciscan seminary, but at the age of twenty-three abandoned theology for the study of law and of physical science, in which department he held a professor's chair for two years. In politics he was always an enlightened Liberal, and during the disastrous war with the United States he was conspicuous for his energetic labors in the national defence. For promptness and efficiency in raising and forwarding troops, he might be called the Andrew or the Curtin of that war. From 1847 to 1852 he was governor of his native state of Oajaca, which under his administration became a model for all Mexico. His administration was pre-eminent for honesty and wisdom. At the expiration of his term he was elected director of the Institute for Science and Arts, but when Santa Anna seized the government in 1853 he lost no time in arresting Juarez and driving him from the country. One such Aristides was more than the tyrant could endure. After a stay of two years in New Orleans, the revolt against Santa Anna gave Juarez his opportunity. General Alvarez, the leader of the Radical forces, was chosen President of the republic, and he appointed Juarez minister of justice and religion. After a few weeks, however, Alvarez resigned the Presidency, and was succeeded by the Vice-President, Ignacio Comonfort. This person was afraid of the overshadowing influence of Juarez, and appointed him provisional governor of Oajaca in order to get him out of the Cabinet. After the adoption of a new constitution in 1857, Juarez was elected governor of Oajaca by an immense majority; but at the federal election he was at the same time chosen president of the Supreme Court of Justice, which was the most powerful position in the country next to that of the President. The new constitution was federalist in character, but its most notable feature was its treatment of the clergy, in which it embodied the ideas of Juarez. It deprived the clergy of their exemption from civil jurisdiction, it forbade the appeal to Rome in ecclesiastical matters, it enjoined complete liberty of worship, and it authorized the abolition of monastic vows. Furthermore, this excellent constitution abolished the right of special jurisdiction which had been enjoyed by members of the army, it forbade any interference with liberty of the press, it abolished all custom-house duties between the several states, reduced the federal tariff, and recommended the general opening of the country to immigration.

The promulgation of this constitution was the signal for the imme-

diate renewal of civil war. The clerical and military parties were infuriated, and the Archbishop of Mexico launched an edict of excommunication against all persons who should swear allegiance to this constitution. Comonfort was driven from the capital, which was occupied by the reactionary party, at first under Zuloaga, afterward by Miramon. At this crisis the flight of the President left the leadership of the Liberals in the hands of Juarez, who withdrew to Vera Cruz and carried on the government from that port. His command of the custom-house there supplied him with the sinews of war, so that he was able to maintain himself. In 1859 the United States recognized the Juarez government, and this powerful support decided the question for the moment. Late in 1860, Juarez defeated Miramon in battle and took possession of the capital. He was then elected President for four years. His Assembly soon decreed the confiscation and sale of church lands, amounting in value to more than \$200,000,000. Thus driven to the wall, the clergy endeavored to see what could be done by intrigues at the papal court and at the Tuileries.

Events in Central America had already encouraged the Emperor of the French to set at defiance the Monroe Doctrine. At the time of Iturbide's revolt from Spanish domination a similar movement for independence was raised in the five states of Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, San Salvador, and Costa Rica. These states in 1823 formed themselves into the "Federal Republic of Central America," and adopted a very enlightened constitution, which was the first in the world to abolish slavery at a blow and to make the slave-trade piracy. Nevertheless, this excellent constitution worked but poorly, and a federation between states wellnigh cut off from one another by topographical obstacles turned out far less successful in operation than it had been in theory. This Central American pentarchy has had its full share of revolutions and usurpations, of which one may be mentioned as having peculiar interest. The state of Nicaragua contains a spacious lake to which the river San Juan gives easy access from the Atlantic Ocean, and at the other end a canal of twenty miles would connect the lake with the Pacific. Consequently, ever since the admission of California to the Union, the people of the United States have taken especial interest in Nicaragua. Among the Americans whom the discovery of gold had drawn to California was a young adventurer named William Walker. Inspired with romantic dreams of conquest, this young man in 1853 made an unsuccessful dash into the peninsula of Lower California. Two years later, taking advantage of one of the periodic convulsions of

Nicaragua, he invaded that state and in 1856 made himself President of it. If Walker had been an astute young man, he would have turned over his conquest to the United States, and thus have enlisted powerful support among the adherents of the slave power ; but as he preferred to keep his conquest for himself, his supporters in the United States soon cooled in their ardor, while the neighboring Central American states rose against him and in 1857 he was driven from the country. After one further unsuccessful attempt upon Nicaragua, Walker tried his hand upon Honduras in 1860, but was captured, condemned as a pirate, and shot.

These incidents were watched with interest by the adventurer who then occupied the French throne, a man of aims and methods akin to Walker's. At that moment Napoleon III. enjoyed a reputation for sagacity which he was soon to lose. Inasmuch as in 1861 the United States were involved in civil war, it seemed to the French emperor an opportune moment for defying the Monroe Doctrine and setting up a government of his own in Mexico. Once established, this government might seize the earliest opportunity of lending aid to the Southern Confederacy. Mexican priests accordingly met with a cordial reception, their schemes were eminently acceptable to the Empress Eugénie, and the mad enterprise was begun. In July, 1863, just at the turning-point of our great civil war, a French army under Marshals Forey and Bazaine entered the Mexican capital, amid the enthusiastic cheers of the clerical party and the more conservative land-owners. An assembly of notables was forthwith convened and proceeded to confirm Napoleon's nomination of the young Archduke Maximilian of Austria to be Emperor of Mexico. Early in 1864 Maximilian arrived in Mexico with his wife, Charlotte, daughter of the King of the Belgians, and they were at once crowned emperor and empress. Nevertheless, Juárez easily maintained himself against the French, and before the end of the year 1865 Maximilian's case had become desperate. The United States, having suppressed the rebellion, informed the French emperor that the continued presence of French troops on Mexican soil would be regarded as an unfriendly act ; and this hint was significantly followed by a massing of United States troops in Texas. Napoleon had promised Maximilian not to desert him ; but now he withdrew his troops, alleging that there was no further use for them, as the purposes of the expedition had been accomplished. It was high time for Maximilian to beat a hasty retreat ; but he was prevailed upon to stay, and after some vicissitudes, was brought to bay at Queretaro in May, 1867, and there he was

captured and shot. Some persons have charged Juarez with inhumanity in permitting this execution, but it is a wholesome rule which visits such enterprises with death. It is well that the men who undertake them should understand that they are taking their lives in their hands. In Maximilian's case it curiously happened that he was condemned and executed in accordance with a decree of his own of two years before, to the effect that every man captured in arms should be held to have incurred the death penalty. In accordance with this decree, certain republicans had been shot, so that the unfortunate archduke may be said to have been in a peculiar sense the author of his own ruin. For



FIG. 147.—Porfirio Díaz.

the conduct of Napoleon in the matter, no language can be too severe ; but it brought its own retribution. There can be little doubt that his mortification at this fiasco had much to do with his precipitating himself into that greater fiasco, the war with Germany, which sealed his doom three years after that of Maximilian.

With the restoration of the republic, Juarez was once more elected President. The overthrow of the French left the clerical party to struggle alone for its ancient privileges, and during the remainder of his life Juarez had to contend with insurrections. Upon his death in 1872 he was succeeded by Lerdo de Tejada, a Radical statesman like himself. The insurrection still smouldered and kept breaking out from time to time, but for nearly five years Lerdo maintained his hold upon the

government. His chief rival, a man steadily growing in power and in influence, was General Porfirio Diaz (Fig. 147), who had been the most distinguished of the soldiers concerned in overthrowing the French. While Diaz for a time represented the clerical reaction against the policy of Juarez and Lerdo, he is rather to be regarded as a statesman for whom all interests, clerical and other, have been subordinated to the welfare of the state. It is interesting to note that Diaz, like Juarez, was a native of Oajaca. In 1877 Lerdo's government was overthrown and he took refuge in New York. Since that date the affairs of Mexico have for the most part been managed by Diaz, who has been repeatedly re-elected President. Under his rule the last twenty years of the century may be said to have been the golden age of Mexico, and he must be pronounced on the whole the ablest ruler that country has ever seen. Among his prominent traits are moderation and firmness, sagacity, administrative ability, and breadth of view. He has understood how to pursue a course of wholesome policy without awakening needless opposition through want of tact. While his efforts have been directed with marked success toward administrative and legislative reforms, he has at the same time retained the confidence of the clergy through his manifest disposition to protect them in all the rights which the constitution guarantees to them. This interval of comparative repose is precisely what Mexico has long stood in need of. As the returns for labor become more secure, we begin to observe an awakened spirit of enterprise; capital seeks for investment, and the country prospers. It may confidently be expected that the twentieth century will witness much good work performed in the beautiful land of the Cordilleras.

Leaving here our brief sketch of Spanish America since its liberation, there is still one American country concerning which a few words must be said. In looking at a map of South America, we find Brazil occupying a space relatively as prominent as that occupied by Russia in a map of Europe. In point of fact, Brazil is a much larger country than European Russia, being about eight-ninths as large as the whole of Europe. Such was the princely domain added to the crown of Portugal in the year 1500 by the stout navigator Cabral, who found its coast stretching far to the eastward of Borgia's meridian. The Portuguese were ever wont to regard Brazil as one of their most important possessions, and such indeed it proved to be after the Dutch had deprived them of their great empire in the East Indies. Yet only a small portion of the territory of Brazil is occupied by civilized men. The greater part

of the country is a jungle so dense as to oppose serious obstacles to civilization. Nowhere on the globe is there a more obvious illustration of the effects of physical geography upon human achievement. It was long ago pointed out how the trade-winds laden with Atlantic moisture blow westward across South America on either side of the equator until they encounter the lofty summits of the Andes, by which that moisture is condensed into rain. By the time these winds have crossed the Andes, they are sucked so completely dry that Peru and Ecuador are countries which need irrigation. All the immense rainfall flows down the eastern slopes and makes a series of the greatest rivers in the world, culminating in the mighty Amazon. The greater portion of Brazil is a steaming tropical country abounding in vegetable and animal life of a kind that is noxious to man, and few places in the world present more difficulties to the settler than the interior of that country. The strength of Brazil has lain chiefly in its seaports, and of late years there has been a visible tendency for the temperate south to increase more rapidly than the tropical north. As long ago as 1763 the transfer of the capital from Bahia southward to Rio Janeiro by that astute statesman Pombal shows how well he understood the growing importance of the southern provinces. In reality, there was until recent times very little unity in Brazil. The different settlements along the coast were made at different times, consisting in many cases of incongruous elements, and had much less intercourse with one another than each of them had with Portugal. In former days we used to hear the country spoken of in the plural as "The Brazils."

The history of the acquisition of independence by Brazil is very peculiar; nothing like it can be found elsewhere in history. There was no rising against oppression, as in the Spanish colonies; still less was there any rising against the mere possibility of future oppression, as in the case of the English colonies of North America. The separation of Portugal from Brazil came about in a way that nobody could have fancied.

Portugal was an old ally of England, and her dealings with British merchants were so numerous and complicated that she found it impossible to aid Napoleon in his wild schemes for destroying British commerce. So Napoleon concluded that if the Portuguese government could not or would not do this work for him, he would take possession of that government and do it for himself. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1807 he invested the city of Lisbon, and on that same day the Portuguese court embarked from Lisbon and sailed away to Brazil. Upon his landing at

Rio Janeiro (Fig. 148), the Prince Regent of Portugal was greeted as Emperor of Brazil.

In those days, when colonies were habitually treated merely as feeders to the wealth of the mother country, and when they were subjected to various forms of misgovernment, the change in Brazil wrought by this coming of the court was extraordinary. Brazil was no longer a remote region to be exploited for the benefit of the Portuguese crown, but it was the home of the Portuguese crown. Consequently, restrictions upon trade were taken off, manufactures were allowed to become established, the Inquisition was suppressed, and a printing-press was for the first time set up.

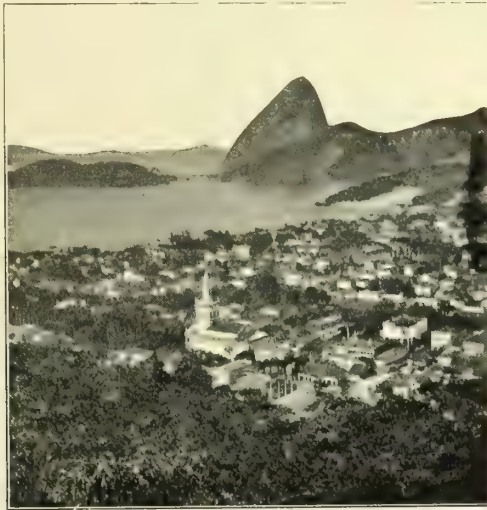


FIG. 148. Rio Janeiro. (From a photograph by Rau, Philadelphia.)

After eight years of this new era, the overthrow of Napoleon completed the relief of Portugal which Wellington's arms had gained. In 1815 Brazil and Portugal were united into one kingdom; but this did not suit Portugal, which envied the prosperity of Brazil and wished to bring it back to its position of relative inferiority. In 1821 the king, John VI., who as prince regent had conducted the move to Brazil, returned to Portugal, leaving the crown prince, Dom Pedro, as his viceroy in Brazil.

Now, those Portuguese who looked with jealousy upon the growth of Brazil were especially annoyed at symptoms of the growth of a national feeling there. They wished to check the recent tendency of the country to aggregate into a state, with its centre at Rio Janeiro; and so

they undertook to encourage, by legislation and otherwise, the disposition of such towns and districts as Bahia, Pernambuco, and others, to govern themselves without recourse to a central government at Rio. With such ends in view, the government at Lisbon abolished the offices of the government at Rio Janeiro. Resistance to this policy led to outbreaks in Brazil. The Lisbon government wished Dom Pedro to return to Europe; but he was made to realize that if he did so, there was likely to be civil war which might destroy the unity of Brazil. He therefore concluded to remain in the country as its ruler, and in December, 1822, he was duly crowned Emperor of Brazil (Fig. 149). The independence of Brazil thus declared was presently recognized by his father, King John, and by the Portuguese nation.



FIG. 149.—Dom Pedro I., Emperor of Brazil, 1822-1831.

The administration of Pedro I. did him small credit as a statesman. His knowledge of the gentle art of ruling was scarcely better than that of the Bourbons. One of his first acts was to get rid of the wise and able men who had assisted him in winning his independent throne. Foremost among these was José Andrada, one of the most remarkable men in South-American history, versed in science and literature, skilled as a mining engineer and as a writer of poetry. Andrada and his friends wished well to the emperor, but understood the uses of a constitutional opposition and endeavored to exemplify them, whereupon the

emperor forthwith banished them. Then, as if Pedro's territory were not too large already, he sought to enlarge it by annexing Uruguay, and thus brought upon himself a desperate war with Buenos Ayres, in which he was badly worsted. This failure caused general dissatisfaction, and the party of Republicans grew so strong and courageous as to threaten the continuance of the monarchy. In 1831 the emperor averted the storm by abdicating in favor of his son, Pedro II., a boy of five years. He furthermore recalled Andrada from exile and entrusted the young sovereign to his care.



Dom Pedro II. Emperor of Brazil

FIG. 150.—Dom Pedro II., Emperor of Brazil, 1831-1889.

Emperor Pedro II. (Fig. 150), whose reign was thus inaugurated amid murmurs of insurrection, ruled over Brazil for fifty-eight years, one of the longest reigns recorded in modern history. In 1840, when he was fourteen years old, he took the management of affairs into his own hands. Into the details of his reign it is impracticable for us to enter; it coincided with the period of awakened material and intellectual progress that began with the invention of railways and with the introduction of modern methods of study in science and in history. In this great move-

ment Brazil has had her share of profit, though a smaller one than that of some more favored communities. Considering the backward condition of the popular intelligence in the early part of the nineteenth century, the progress effected during the reign of Pedro II. was truly astonishing and is calculated to make us hope great things for the present century. Perhaps the most memorable event in Pedro's reign was the final abolition of slavery, which lasted longer in Brazil than in any other civilized country—with the United States in the second place, to our shame be it said. Attempts were made to abolish the Brazilian slave-trade as early as 1826, but it was not until after 1850 that the result was finally attained. As for domestic slavery, that was finally dealt with in the famous act of September, 1871, which enacted that all children thereafter born of slave mothers should be free at birth. The same act immediately emancipated all slaves held by the government, and already the Benedictine monks emancipated all their slaves.

Notwithstanding the generally enlightened character of Pedro II., his reign was not free from the abuses that have been attendant upon most of the monarchical or semi-monarchical states of the New World. Too much officialism, too much clericalism, too much militarism—these and other evils served to nourish a strong party in favor of the republican form of government, and in 1889 the monarchy of Pedro II. was overthrown. He died in exile in 1891. The group of states which made up his extensive empire is now a federal republic under the style of "The United States of Brazil."

CHAPTER VIII.

THE OUSTING OF SPAIN.

WHILE Cuba since its first conquest in 1511 was always highly valued by Spain, its importance before 1813 was small compared to what it has come to be in recent years. In the middle of the eighteenth century the island passed for a moment out of Spanish control. In 1762 Spain added her arms to those of France, Austria, and Russia in the tremendous war which those powers were unsuccessfully waging against Great Britain and Prussia. As a result, the English captured Havana and held the island practically at their mercy. At the same time they took away from Spain the Philippine Islands; but the treaty of 1763 restored these conquests to Spain in exchange for Florida and other important concessions. As we have seen in a previous chapter, Great Britain restored Florida to Spain in the treaty of 1783. It would probably have been far better for the interests of civilization and good government in Cuba, if the island had remained in British hands. It is significant that the sanitary condition of Havana was never so well cared for as in 1762, and the mediæval restrictions upon trade were in a considerable measure relaxed. After this brief interval of British government, the restoration of Spanish control was a reversion to the old state of things.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of the island was about 400,000 souls, of whom rather less than half were negro slaves. The native Indians had long since been exterminated. The whites, mostly of Spanish descent, lived on their farms and knew next to nothing about the outside world. No foreign ship could touch at a Cuban port. All commerce was prohibited save with Spain, and thus the market for sugar and tobacco was narrow and the production small. Cooped up within this legislative Chinese wall, the people were densely ignorant. Nearly all the products of the soil were consumed where they grew, division of labor was scarcely known, and there was little circulation of ideas. Under such circumstances it is not strange that the prevalent mental attitude was one of Toryism. A dread of horrors like those so near at hand in Santo Domingo may well have

aided this conservative feeling and helped to prevent Cuba from joining in the general revolt against Spain. In 1808, when Napoleon deposed the reigning Bourbons, the Cuban provincial council resolved unanimously to preserve the allegiance of the island to that legitimate dynasty, and Ferdinand VII. was proclaimed king. European events were fast tying Napoleon's hands, or this bold action might have called down his wrath upon Cuba, even as the heroic career of Toussaint Louverture had drawn it down upon Santo Domingo. For such an act of loyalty Cuba came to be known as the "ever faithful isle."

One effect of the French Revolution upon Spain was the slow and painful introduction of a few modern ideas. Some wholesome warnings of experience found their way through the thick panoply of dullness that protected Ferdinand VII. against wisdom and prosperity. The spirit of revolt had become so rife in Spanish America that it was thought worth while to reward and perpetuate Cuba's loyalty by a more liberal policy. Accordingly in 1813 the ports of the island were thrown open to commerce, and two years afterward the government monopoly of tobacco was abolished. The Cubans were also allowed to elect representatives to the Spanish Cortes, but this privilege proved to be of small practical use and was afterward withdrawn. The effects, however, of the new commercial policy were astonishing, especially upon the growth of tobacco and sugar. Within a few years these crops had increased fourfold. Between the beginning and the end of the nineteenth century the production of sugar increased a hundredfold. Of this huge crop scarcely 2 per cent. went to Spain, while England took 15 per cent. and the United States 75. These figures enable us to realize the wonderful expansion consequent upon the opening of Cuban ports. Under such conditions the population of the island has increased to more than a million and a half. The relative proportion of negroes has decreased until it is scarcely more than one-fourth, and slavery was finally abolished in 1886.

The rapid growth of the ever faithful isle was in great measure helped by the contemporaneous revolt of the other portions of Spanish America. Thousands of native Spaniards, who in former times would have enjoyed official positions or special business privileges in such countries as Peru or Buenos Ayres or Venezuela, now found such sources of emolument cut off. Consequently this particular stream of immigration, which had once overflowed the whole of Spanish America, became confined to Cuba and Porto Rico. These favored immigrants in Cuba form the class of "Peninsulars," while the native Cuban

Creoles are distinguished as the "Insulars." At the present time it is supposed that about one-fifth of the white people of Cuba are Peninsulars, or natives of Spain. They have for a long time monopolized the salaried positions in church and state and managed all matters of public administration to suit themselves. The distinction between Creole and European Spaniard is maintained as strongly as ever it was in the old days of the viceroys of Lima, and the political connection with the mother country has long been used simply to enable one-fifth of the white population to treat the other four-fifths as having no rights which are entitled to respect.

At the beginning of the recent rebellion under Gomez, this unwholesome state of things in Cuba had been growing up ever since the general revolution of Spanish America. The liberal commercial measures of 1813 and 1815 were not accompanied by liberal measures in politics. Nothing like real self-government was allowed the ever faithful isle. On the contrary, she was governed by a series of captains-general with powers as despotic as those of the Grand Turk. Thus there grew up an antagonism between the Peninsulars, with the captain-general at their head, and the Insulars, who were on all occasions made to feel their inferior position; and, as always in such cases, this antagonism was far more venomous and implacable than that which exists between political parties in free countries. The Insulars were naturally in favor of a larger measure of self-government, in which their superiority in numbers might enable them to outvote and curb their haughty opponents; on the other hand, the Peninsulars clung to Spanish despotism as their chief refuge and defence. On such lines did the hostile parties go on developing for eighty years.

During this period the Insulars, or Liberal party, were getting the rudiments of political education by observing what was going on in the republics of Spanish America and in the United States. People in their situation have no opportunities for gaining political experience of the kind with which all English-speaking countries are familiar. They start with a few general political ideas and have no means of testing their value save by insurrection. The first task is to overthrow the oppressor, and every patriot of this way of thinking is sure to oppose the government. Between 1820 and 1830 there were several attempts at rebellion in Cuba, fomented by such secret societies as the "Sociedad de Bolivar," the "Black Eagle," and others; but these premature outbreaks were quickly suppressed. The chief immediate result was the tightening of the despotic control of the captains-general. The government was one

of martial law, even in times of peace. The unfortunate conspiracy of 1844, for complicity with which the Cuban poet Placido was executed, and the ill-starred expeditions of Narciso Lopez in 1849 and 1851, bear witness at once to the abiding spirit of discontent among the people and to the superior strength which a better organization gave to the oppressors. Nothing need here be said concerning the filibustering expeditions from the United States directed against Cuba and other neighboring portions of Spanish America in the interests of the slave power, for we have already made due mention of these incidents in another place.

From 1851 to 1868 the smouldering fires found little chance for breaking into flame. The revolution of September, 1868, which drove Queen Isabella II. from Spain, furnished an occasion of which the Insulars were not slow to avail themselves. On October 10 the independence of Cuba was proclaimed by Carlos de Céspedes, who soon had a force of 15,000 men marching under his orders. In the following April a congress, assembled at the town of Guaymaro, framed a republican constitution for Cuba and elected Céspedes President. Mexico and several states of South America at once recognized the Cubans as belligerents, and within two months Peru recognized them as an independent power.

The war thus begun lasted nearly ten years, until it was brought to an end by the treaty or capitulation of El Zanjón in 1878. It is known as the Ten Years' War. For the first two years the revolutionary forces seemed to have the advantage, but their cause was ruined by contentions and misunderstandings arising from the interference of the civil power with the military. The broth was spoiled by too many cooks, and the single-willed despot was enabled to score a triumph over the many-headed King Demos. In 1873 the congress deposed Céspedes and elected in his place Salvador Cisneros. Some mystery hangs over the circumstances of the death of Céspedes in 1874, but he seems to have been murdered by Spaniards.

The Ten Years' War was a terrible drain upon the resources of the government at Madrid. More than 150,000 troops were sent over from Spain, and of these more than 80,000 are said to have found their graves in Cuba. The revolutionary forces were always less numerous than their antagonists, as well as inferior in arms and equipments; besides which, the Spanish navy controlled the water. The only prudent strategy for the insurgents was the Fabian kind, that avoids pitched battles: a tedious policy, but apt to be highly effective in the long run. What the Cubans accomplished by such methods and by guerilla warfare was extremely encouraging. The net result of the Ten

Years' War afforded good ground for the opinion that they might try the experiment of revolution once more with strong hopes of success.

That they would try it again could hardly be doubtful. The capitulation of El Zanjón was achieved only through the understanding that abuses were to be reformed. The first article of the document implicitly concedes to Cubans representation in the Cortes at Madrid. From such a concession further reforms were expected to follow. It was clear enough that nothing short of effective reform could prevent the renewal of revolution. No such reform was secured. As far as representation at Madrid was concerned, that was soon rendered a nullity by the Peninsulars contriving to get control of the polls and prevent the election of any but their own men. It is said that of the thirty deputies chosen in 1896, all but four were natives of Spain. Bearing this in mind, let us note some other features of political reform as conceived by the Spaniard. The power of the captain-general had been absolute. In 1895 an attempt was made to limit it by providing him with a council of thirty members, of whom fifteen were to be appointed by the crown and fifteen were to be elected by the people. Of course the same influence over elections which made representation at Madrid a mere farce would control the choice of councillors. It might safely be assumed that at least ten of the fifteen would be the abettors or the pliant tools of the captain-general. But to guard against any possible failure on this point, the captain-general was empowered to "suspend" members opposing him, until he should have suspended fourteen of the thirty. If even then he could not get a majority to uphold him, he was not yet at the end of his resources. Far from it. There was another advisory body called the "Council of Authorities." Its members were the Archbishop of Santiago, the Bishop of Havana, the chief justice, the attorney-general, the chief of the finance bureau, the director of local administration, and the commanders of the military forces. Armed with the consent of these potent advisers, pretty sure to be all of them Peninsulars, our captain-general goes back to his refractory council and suspends all that is left of it. Then, like Wordsworth's river, he "wanders at his own sweet will."

Now one of the duties of this truly wonderful council was to regulate taxation and expenditures. So it made its budget, and if the captain-general was satisfied with it, very well; if not, he just set it aside and did as he pleased. As Caliban would say, "As it likes me each time I do: so He!" After this, it need not surprise us to be told that

each province in Cuba had its elected representative assembly, which the autocrat at Havana could suspend at his pleasure, or that the island was abundantly supplied with courts of justice whose decisions he was at full liberty to overrule. We learn next, as a matter of course, that if you were to write a book or pamphlet containing criticisms of the autocrat or his policy, you could not get it printed; or if you were an editor and should publish such pestilent stuff in your paper, he would forthwith clap you into durance vile and confiscate a part or the whole of your balance at the bank. Political meetings, as such, could not be held. Clubs for charitable purposes or for social entertainment were allowed to meet after due notice given the autocrat, so that he might be present himself or send his spies; then let the teller of anecdotes, the



FIG. 151.—Antonio Maceo.

maker of jests, and the singer of songs keep the tongue well guarded, lest the company be dispersed before supper and the neighboring jail receive new inmates.

In such a political atmosphere, corruption thrived like a green bay tree. Let me cite a typical instance. A planter's estate is entered upon the assessors' list as worth \$50,000; the collector comes along and demands a tax based upon an assumed value of \$70,000; the planter demurs, but presently thinks it prudent to compromise upon a basis of \$60,000. No change is made in the published lists, but the collector slips into his own pocket the tax upon \$10,000 and goes on his way rejoicing. Thus the planter is robbed, while the government is cheated. And this is a fair specimen of what went on in Cuba under

Spanish rule throughout all departments of administration. From end to end, the whole system was honeycombed with fraud.

Among the eminent leaders in the Ten Years' War were the mulatto brothers, Antonio and José Maceo (Fig. 151), who as partisan soldiers were highly gifted. For the combination of cool judgment with reckless dash, Antonio in particular may be said to have resembled Anthony Wayne. Another able commander was Calixto García. But foremost among them all was Máximo Gómez (Fig. 152), who was not a Cuban, but a native of Santo Domingo, a farmer by birth, and the son of a farmer; a man of clear head, perfect in bravery, and rich in resources,

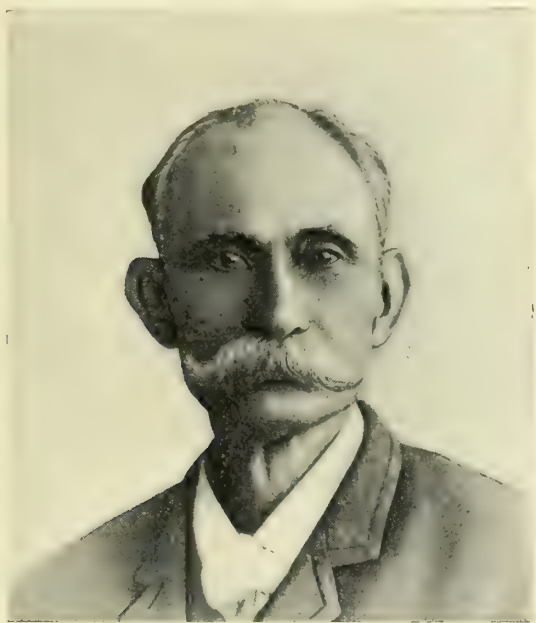


FIG. 152.—Máximo Gómez.

thoroughly public-spirited, and honest in every fibre. In his early days he had served on the Spanish side during a war in his native island, but this appears to have been due to the necessity which he felt for putting down a mischievous faction. At a later time he became convinced that Cuba ought to be free, and when the Ten Years' War broke out he offered his services to the insurgents. During the whole of that war, the Cuban cause owed much to his skill and determination. After the close of the war, he accepted a commission in the army of Honduras.

Other prominent leaders found homes in various Spanish-American republics as well as in the United States. Although the terms of the

capitulation gave Spain no right to meddle with them, yet they felt some distrust of Spain's official promises and thought it best to keep out of harm's way. It is said that after 1878 there were more than 40,000 Cuban refugees in the United States, and perhaps as many more in South America and the neighboring islands. These refugees were in close communication with their friends in Cuba. The revolutionary spirit never died out of their hearts, and, as they watched the method in which Spain's pledges were fulfilled, its flame grew brighter than ever. Clubs were formed for the purpose of collecting the sinews of war and planning the deliverance of Cuba. It is said that there were not less than 150 of these clubs, of which the most important was in the city of New York, and the most active agitator connected with it was José Martí. By the beginning of 1895 he had collected more than a million dollars, and judged from various appearances that the time had come to strike. He notified the clubs in Cuba of this decision, and the matter took such precise form that the 24th of February was appointed as the day for an outbreak. With this end in view, Martí sent out three ships laden with military supplies for Cuba; but these vessels were overhauled and stopped by United States officers on the coast of Florida. Martí's course was pursued, all the same; and while he went to Santo Domingo and entered into consultation with Gomez, the 24th of February witnessed a slight outbreak in Matanzas, which was suppressed without much difficulty. Spain had then about 20,000 regular troops in Cuba, but soon began sending more. It was not long before the insurrection had made considerable headway in the eastern part of the island, and Gomez, Martí, and Antonio Maceo arrived upon the scene. The death of Martí, who was killed in a skirmish, left Gomez foremost among the insurgent leaders, and it was not long before that enterprising commander at the head of 6000 troops had overrun the province of Camaguey. The Spanish government sent out Martínez Campos to take the supreme command in the island. Campos was regarded as one of Spain's ablest generals, and he brought with him 25,000 fresh men. But with all his ability he found himself unable to cope with the guerilla tactics of Gomez and Maceo.

In September, 1895, a constitutional convention was held, consisting of twenty representatives from the provinces of the island and twenty from the army. This convention proceeded to organize a government, and chose for its President a gentleman of high character, Salvador Cisneros. A Vice-President and Secretaries of State, War, and Treasury were also elected. Gomez was confirmed in his command of the army,

and Maceo was chosen to be second in command. The seat of this revolutionary government was said to be somewhere in a mountain district known as Cubitas; but much fun was made over its migratory propensities, though perhaps no more so than in the case of our Continental Congress when it moved from Philadelphia to York in Pennsylvania, to Annapolis, to New York, and to Trenton, and our newspapers remarked that the proper home for it would be a house upon wheels.

When Gomez accepted the command, it was with the distinct understanding that he should conduct military affairs without any interference on the part of the civil government, for he had learned in the previous war the proverbial effect upon the broth of too many cooks. His methods were harsh, but effective. His men were never to give or accept battle unless they had an unmistakable advantage in position or numbers; they were to cut railways and lines of telegraph, and they were to burn all sugar-mills and standing crops of sugar-cane unless the owners ransomed them by contributing to the revolutionary war fund. This kind of warfare was carried on amid a population thoroughly hostile to the Spaniards, until by the beginning of 1896 the rebellion had extended from the eastern to the western end of the island. By that time the Spanish government had become thoroughly dissatisfied with General Campos and recalled him. Among other complaints brought against him, it was charged that he was too humane and not sufficiently stern in his treatment of rebels. The commander who was appointed to succeed him, General Valeriano Weyler, was not a person against whom such charges were likely to be brought. He had already in other fields of service established a reputation for brutality which his career in Cuba greatly heightened. Of military capacity Weyler showed but little. Like some former commanders, he seemed to attach great importance to the building of trochas, which were defensive lines across the island intended to check or hinder the march of rebel forces. These trochas were very expensive to build, and it took a large force of soldiers to man them; and after all said and done, the insurgents paid little more heed to them than a race-horse is wont to pay to a hurdle. They skipped across them without ado, and went on their way rejoicing.

By the end of 1896 Weyler had succeeded in overcoming the rebels in Pinar del Rio, the westernmost province of the island, where Maceo, the brave insurgent leader, was slain in battle.

Notwithstanding this success at the west, Weyler made little progress during the year 1897. The place of Maceo was taken by Calixto Garcia, who in the autumn captured the great stronghold of Victoria de

las Tunas, with two Krupp guns, more than 1000 rifles, and a million rounds of ammunition.

It was but seldom that the Spaniards concentrated so much military property in a single stronghold. Their policy was to build small forts here and there at points of advantage, and use them as lairs from which to sally forth and harass the country. These forts were garrisoned by small parties of soldiers, who at the end of a day's raid seemed to think it necessary to retreat under cover. Their methods, which would have been admirable had they been the weaker party, were simply ridiculous in view of their great superiority in numbers. Indeed, so unaccountable was their conduct if measured by the ordinary rules of warfare, that some people have supposed that the Spanish generals were not really anxious to bring the war to an end. War was their business, they were paid higher wages in time of war than in time of peace, and why should they hasten the end of such a desirable state of things? This hypothesis attributes to these officers a base way of looking at things, but perhaps scarcely more base than that of our fellow-citizen who begs government for a pension which he well knows he never did anything to earn. Either the Spanish army in Cuba was sadly belied by its enemies, or else its moral tone must have been low, which is not hard to believe if we consider the hideous corruption by which the whole Spanish civil service has been gangrened. It is said that after a fight the Spanish officers reported only a small percentage of the number killed, because they preferred, so far as possible, to keep the names of the dead on the pay-rolls and draw pay for them.

But the tale of corruption in Cuba is far outdone by the tale of cruelty. Weyler's policy, which he called "reconcentration," has had no parallel in modern times except among such bloodthirsty barbarians as the Turks or the natives of Ashantee. It has made for its author a place among the monsters of history, such as Alva or Carrier. The ingenious Weyler knew that forts have sometimes been starved into submission; why should he not apply the same process to a whole country? Accordingly, he ordered all non-combatants from their country homes into the cities and towns or the precincts immediately adjacent to cities and towns. Their abandoned homes were burned, their crops destroyed, and their animals killed or driven away. These helpless people were confined within a space usually 100 or 150 yards in width. The boundary was known as the dead-line; and any man, woman, or child who ventured to set foot across it was liable to be shot down. Mr. Stephen Bonsal informs us that by the first of December,

1896, not less than 400,000 peace-loving peasants, including their aged and infirm parents, their wives, and their children, had thus been subjected to reconcentration ; and in the following May, "from the Jucaro-Moron trocha westward to Cape San Antonio, not a single home, however modest and lowly, had been left standing outside of the town." As the peasants were in most cases unable to find work in the cities, their families were sure to die of starvation, inasmuch as charity could relieve them only to a very limited extent. Thus we are told that in March, 1897, there was a colony upon the Cascorro Hill in the city of Matanzas which numbered about 3000 people. Of these the dead-cart daily carried away between twenty-five and thirty victims of starvation. In many cases the places of concentration were swampy and low-lying lands, where the best of care could not prevent the ravages of epidemic disease. It should be remembered that most of these peasants were brought from the highlands of the interior, where malarial fevers are almost unknown, down to the coast regions, where the intense heat and moisture and lack of sanitary provisions make every town a nest of typhus, typhoid, and yellow fevers. It has been reasonably estimated that the number of victims thus murdered by Weyler can hardly have fallen short of half a million.

These atrocities aroused intense indignation in the United States. In the course of the year 1896 President Cleveland intimated to the government at Madrid that if a really satisfactory method of home rule were to be offered by Spain to the Cubans, the United States would guarantee that it should be fairly put into operation. In his message to Congress in December of that year, he mentioned this friendly offer and the fact that Spain had not accepted it, and then he went on to say : "It should be added that it cannot be reasonably assumed that the hitherto expectant attitude of the United States will be indefinitely maintained. . . . By the course of events we may be driven into such an unusual and unprecedented condition as will fix a limit to our patient waiting for Spain to win the contest, either alone and in her own way or by our friendly co-operation. . . . A situation may be presented in which our obligations to the sovereignty of Spain will be superseded by higher obligations which we can hardly hesitate to recognize and discharge."

This significant hint of intervention exasperated Canovas, the Spanish prime minister, who declared that Spain would never offer home rule to the Cubans or grant them any other concession until the rebellion should have been suppressed. But in August, 1897, Canovas was assassinated

by an Anarchist, and his successor, Sagasta, who disapproved of General Weyler, superseded him by an entirely different sort of person, General Ramon Blanco. This gentleman was sent out to Cuba not only to try the effect of a humane and kindly policy, but to offer to the Cubans a system of home rule. In this last measure Sagasta showed himself at least more worldly-wise than Canovas. For the offer of home rule would be likely to divide the insurgents and detach from their party a large and respectable element. The rebel leaders well understood this



Fitzhugh Lee

FIG. 153.—Major-General Fitzhugh Lee. (From a photograph by Rockwood, New York.)

danger, and, with well-grounded distrust in Spanish offers, declared they would accept no terms short of absolute independence. Gomez announced that any person whatever coming to his camp with offers of home rule would be summarily shot as a spy. One luckless officer who foolishly disregarded this warning was promptly executed, and we hear of no further such attempts. As for the policy of humanity, General Blanco soon found that he had in some respects a harder task than his predecessor. It was easier to burn peasants' homes and drive them away to starve than it was to restore them to their accustomed haunts

and put them in the way of earning a living. "All the king's soldiers and all the king's men could not put Humpty-Dumpty together again." As Consul-General Lee (Fig. 153) said, "In the first place these people have no place to go to; their houses have been burned down; there is nothing but the bare land left, and it would take them two months before they could raise the first crop. In the next place, they are afraid to go out from the lines of the towns, because the roving bands of Spanish guerillas would kill them. So they stick right in the edges of the town, with nothing to eat except what they get from charity." Early in 1898 a system of relief for the starving Cubans was inaugurated in the United States under the auspices of Clara Barton and the Red Cross Society. Meanwhile the Spanish government was buying ships and other war-material, as if preparing for war with some other power than



FIG. 154.—Battle-ship Maine.

Cuba. Great spleen toward Americans was manifested by the Spanish party in Havana, and in January there was such a riot there that Blanco felt obliged to protect the American Consulate by troops. Thereupon the United States government ordered the North Atlantic Squadron to the coast of Florida and sent the battle-ship Maine (Fig. 154) into Havana harbor. In this last step there was nothing necessarily unfriendly. It might have been a mere visit of courtesy, but in point of fact the presence of a battle-ship might be necessary for protecting American citizens.

The situation was fast developing into belligerency. A letter from the Spanish minister at Washington to one of his friends fell into the wrong hands and was found to contain such ill-mannered references to the American government and people that the Cuban sympathizers in

New York most gleefully published it. The result was that the Spanish minister resigned his position without waiting to be asked. He did not need to be told the meaning of *persona non grata*.

Another event which happened about this time was tragic, and the mystery of it may perhaps never be unravelled. On the night of February 15, 1898, toward ten o'clock, the battle-ship *Maine*, at anchor in Havana harbor, was wrecked by a tremendous explosion which shook the neighboring wharves and buildings with a violence like that of an earthquake. Nearly 300 men were killed or wounded, but the commanding officer, Captain Sigsbee, and several others, escaped with their lives.

About five hours after the catastrophe, Captain Sigsbee telegraphed his report of it to the Secretary of the Navy at Washington. The temper of this report is as calm as if five centuries had elapsed, and the captain is careful to say that "public opinion should be suspended until further report." Nevertheless, it is very seldom that great masses of people are able to hold their judgment in suspense. Some crude impression almost always seizes the public mind and renders it impervious to evidence. In the present case the crude impression was that the destruction of the battle-ship was an act of Spanish treachery; and such evidence as was obtainable, though it did not sustain this view, yet did not contradict it. The first question was whether the explosion originated from within the ship or from without. If from within, the hypothesis of secret treachery was perhaps not absolutely excluded, but that of negligence or accident might be more probable. If from without, the hypothesis of treachery on somebody's part was the more likely. A naval court of inquiry was appointed, and parties of divers examined the wreck with minute thoroughness. After duly sifting 12,000 pages of testimony, the court unanimously decided "that the loss of the *Maine* was not in any respect due to fault or negligence on the part of any of the officers or members of her crew; that the ship was destroyed by the explosion of a submarine mine, which caused the partial explosion of two or more of her forward magazines; and that no evidence has been obtainable fixing the responsibility for the destruction of the *Maine* upon any person or persons." This verdict naturally left undisturbed the crude impression that the catastrophe was somehow due to Spanish treachery. Yet it is not easy to believe that any Spaniard in high position could have authorized or abetted such treachery. To disbelieve the telegraphed messages of condolence from General Blanco and from the Queen Regent of Spain (Fig. 155) would show a lack not only of courtesy, but of sound judgment. The Spanish government had lost 100,000 men in Cuba. It was on the

verge of bankruptcy. It hardly knew where to go in Europe to borrow another peseta. Is it likely, then, to have been eager for a war with the United States? One would think not. Spain's pride made her willing to accept the alternative of war rather than that of immediate humiliation. But to have countenanced an act likely of itself to bring on such a war would have been folly wellnigh incredible.



FIG. 155.—Queen Regent Maria Christina with Alfonso XIII.

So clear must this case have been to every sensible mind that one can hardly ascribe the explosion to unknown Spaniards of Cuba, except as an illustration of that peculiar kind of insanity which is exhibited by cranks. That some Spanish crank or party of cranks may have blown up the *Maine* is not at all unlikely. There is nothing which fools may not do. On the other hand, it is not inconceivable that some Machiavel-

lian crank on the Cuban side might have done the business with the express intention of making trouble for Spain. The case is one in which we have little but considerations of probability to guide us. And thus, after all said and done, we do not get beyond the original crude impression of foul play somewhere.

But whatever may be the true explanation of this mystery, it can hardly be seriously maintained that the destruction of this battle-ship was of itself a sufficient justification for going to war. It was a case in which Spain's denial of complicity in the act should have been followed by an act of indemnification. Without any regard to her guiltiness, the occurrence of such a catastrophe within her jurisdiction would seem to entail upon her the duty of paying damages. Sound public policy demands that the responsibility for such incidents should rest somewhere; and where should it rest if not with the sovereign power that, whether through ill intent or simple misfortune, fails to prevent them? Surely a calm discussion of the affair and an adjustment of it upon such principles would have been infinitely preferable to war.

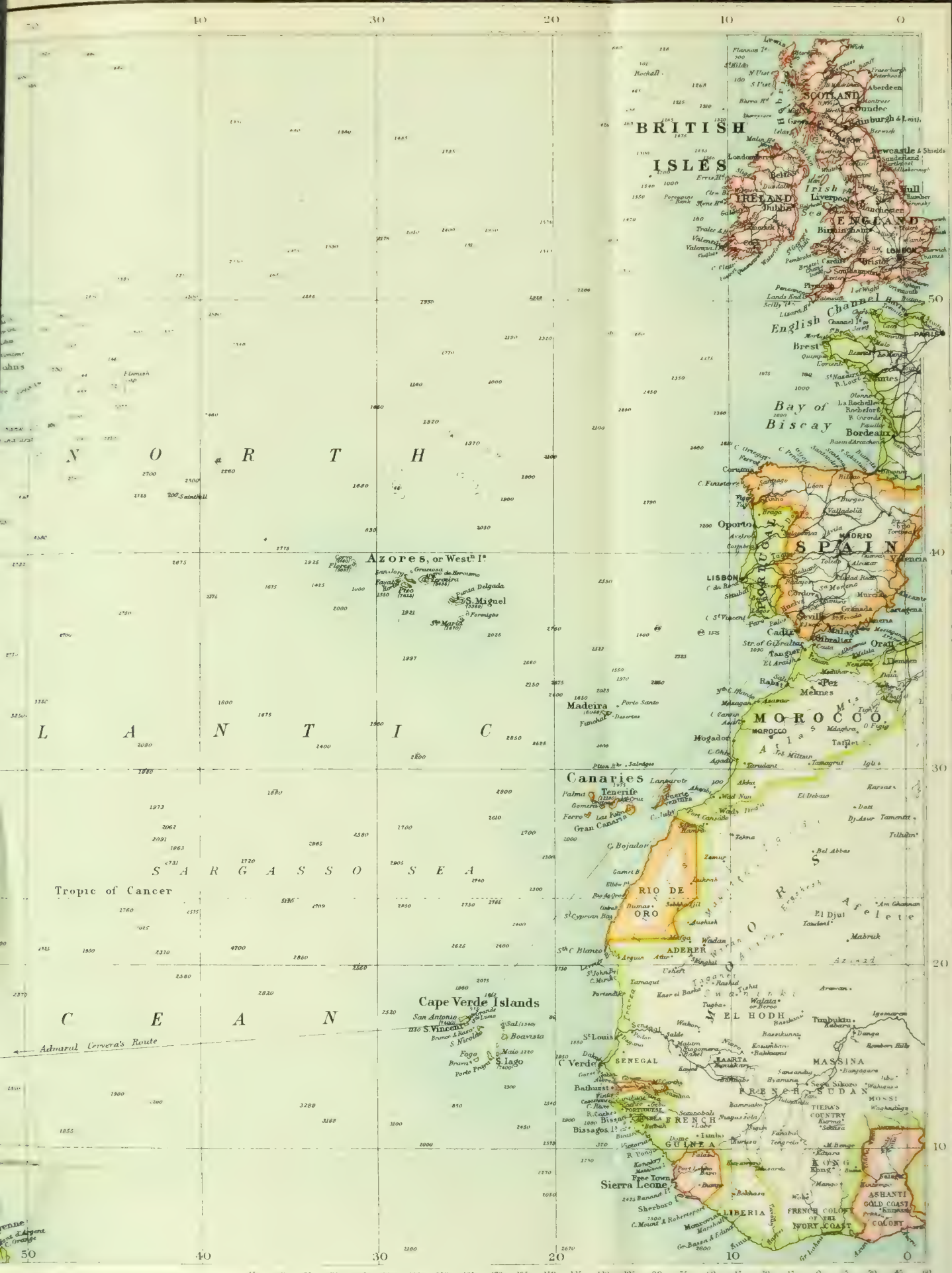
But in truth the United States did not go to war with Spain on account of the destruction of this battle-ship. It was only a subordinate though inflammatory incident. The causes which impelled the United States to war on this occasion were of two kinds: the one eminently discreditable, the other eminently creditable.

Human motives are apt to be complex, and, as individuals multiply, the complexity increases of the motives which lead them to common action. When a great people is impelled to so serious an enterprise as war, we may be certain that there are selfish causes at work as well as disinterested ones. There is the average politician, eager to be on what he believes to be the popular side. There is the prospect of appointments to be made to the multitude of new places to be created, and of large expenditure involving contracts to be awarded to those who have political influence. There were, in the present case, troublesome issues, such as the currency and the protective policy, which might be shelved for a time and perhaps find their solution in the new exigencies of international conflict. There were the burning questions of civil service reform and of municipal misgovernment, which could be brushed aside in the sweep of patriotic emotion. All these naturally rendered the political leaders eager to arouse popular passion, and the two parties rivalled each other in the cheap patriotism of hurrying the nation into war. It was subsequently boasted by Democrats on the floor of Congress that they had forced the Republicans into hostilities, and the

MAPS ILLUSTRATING THE



AMERICAN WAR.



President, who wisely delayed the final steps until the most necessary preparations could be hastily made, complained that Congress was holding a stop-watch over him. The recent publication of the final diplomatic correspondence with Spain has shown that the substantial results as regards Cuba could have been secured without war, and Mr. McKinley has been blamed, not wholly without reason, that he did not use the knowledge in his possession to avert the final issue, and yet in recalling the infectious enthusiasm which pervaded the nation, it may be doubted whether even this would have availed to calm the tempest of popular passion.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said that the opponents of the war policy were in the right, for that policy was commended by other motives than those just enumerated. Doubtless the motive most strongly operative with the American people was the desire to save Cuba from the continuation or repetition of such tyranny as had been brought to their notice. This was surely a feeling most honorable to the American people, and in my opinion it was quite sufficient, under the circumstances, to justify us in going to war. I remember being present early in April, 1898, at a meeting of intelligent and cultivated gentlemen, not one of whom could see any propriety in our taking up arms to rectify wrongs to humanity done outside of the jurisdiction of the United States. Of course, with those who entertained such views, there was a balancing of considerations. They would have been glad enough to rectify the wrongs, but thought that it could not be done without creating fresh evils greater than the old ones. I found myself unable to take this view. During the atrocities wrought upon the Armenians a few years ago by the beastly Turk, it seemed to me very unfortunate that our traditional policy of isolation prevented us from taking such a peremptory and glorious stand as that which Oliver Cromwell took at the news of the massacres in Piedmont. The spectacle of an American fleet before Constantinople in those awful days would have had a tonic effect upon the moral sentiment of the world.

Just so with regard to Spain and Cuba. It was quite plain that all hopes of reform at Spanish hands were as idle in 1898 as they had been in 1878. After four centuries of checkered experience it was clear that the only proper thing for the western hemisphere to do with Spain was to oust her forever from her last bit of territory there. She who had so persistently misused her opportunity must have it taken away, and this was doing God's work.

The attitudes assumed by the great European powers at this juncture are worthy of notice. Upon the continent of Europe the only nation friendly to the United States seems to have been Italy. The French showed such strong sympathy with Spain that Americans in Paris were subject to frequent insults at hotels and upon the streets. It has been suggested that this attitude of the French may have been due to the fact that so many of the Spanish bonds were held in their country. The hostility of Germany, which was less strongly pronounced, was thought to have some discernible connection with tariffs and sausages. A few half-smothered grunts from the Russian bear seemed to indicate a lack of sympathy with us, not wholly unconnected, perhaps, with the fact that American interests in the Pacific Ocean seemed to be becoming visibly identical with Japanese and English interests and inimical to the pretensions of the czar. On the other hand, the attitude of Great Britain was so cordial that it at once tied the hands of the continental powers. But for this, it is not unlikely that France might have interfered, counting upon the support of Russia as well as of Austria, whose sympathy for the Spaniards was chiefly due to an alliance between the dynasties. But any such intervention was liable to open the door for an alliance between the United States and Great Britain, something which none of the continental powers were willing to see.

Thus when war was declared on the 21st of April the United States and Spain were left confronting one another, and the issue of any conflict between the two could not possibly be doubtful. So great, indeed, was the disparity of force as to leave little room for military glory in the victory of the United States, and little room for shame in the defeat of Spain. It was much like a contest between some champion of the prize-ring and a street urchin. The only ground for fear on the part of the United States was the possibility of damage that might be wrought upon the coast by Spanish cruisers. This dread, we are told, interfered somewhat with the leasing of rooms in seaside hotels; and it was calculated that an armed ship approaching New York or Boston might, in these days of searchlights and far-reaching projectiles, do much harm before she could be checked. Nothing of the sort happened, however. The war was confined within narrow and clearly marked lines of action, although it spread farther over the earth's surface than had been foreseen; and in spite of the disproportionate superiority of the Americans, their work was done with such skill and thoroughness as to redound greatly to their credit, while it afforded to discerning eyes significant glimpses of the mighty strength in reserve.

The war was confined within the narrow lines of legitimate military operations by the fact that privateering was virtually abolished. Spain doubtless could have annoyed us more by privateering than by regular naval warfare; and moreover, she had never renounced the right of privateering; but nevertheless, she felt obliged now to relinquish it in order to keep the good-will of other European nations. This is an excellent instance of the force of international public opinion upon a nation's policy. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, privateering was universal and the property of neutrals was but little respected; but before the end of the century, a public opinion had grown up which

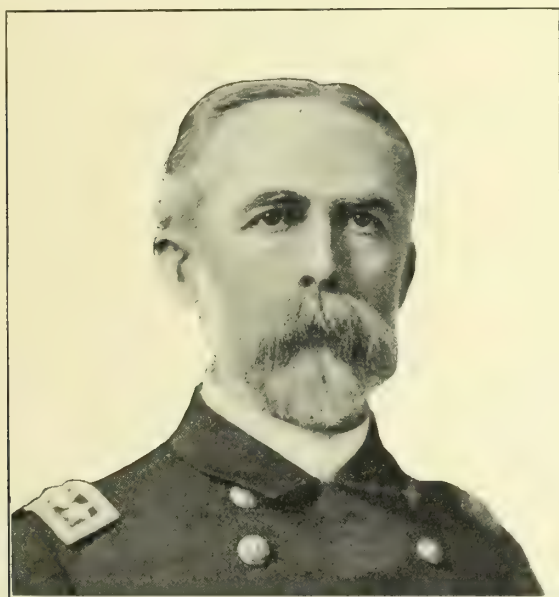


FIG. 156.—Admiral William Thomas Sampson. (From photograph by Falk, New York.)

a nation like Spain did not feel able to defy. Surely this is a hopeful symptom.

As soon as war was declared, the North Atlantic Squadron, commanded by Rear-Admiral Sampson (Fig. 156), moved from Key West and began the blockade of the Cuban coast. Besides the armored cruiser *New York*, which was the flag-ship, this fleet included the battleships *Indiana* and *Iowa*, the double-turreted monitors *Terror*, *Puritan*, *Amphitrite*, *Miantonomoh*, the cruisers *Detroit*, *Cincinnati*, *Montgomery*, and *Marblehead*, together with torpedo-boats, gunboats, and other small craft. At the same time, in order to guard against any sudden attack

upon our coasts, the so-called Flying Squadron, under Commodore Schley (Fig. 157), was kept at Newport News. Besides the armored cruiser Brooklyn, which was the flag-ship, this fleet consisted of the battle-ships Massachusetts and Texas and the protected cruisers Columbia and Minneapolis. Activity was also displayed in the army. In answer to President McKinley's first call, 125,000 volunteers were soon under arms, and within a little more than four weeks the number had increased to more than 200,000. A training and distributing camp was formed in the valley of Chickamauga, the scene of one of the most deadly conflicts in the late civil war, and the forces destined for Cuba were mar-



FIG. 157.—Admiral Winfield Scott Schley. (From photograph by Pach Bros., New York.)

shalled for a time at Tampa in Florida, whence at the proper moment they were to be forwarded by sea. The first notable event of the war, however, occurred on the opposite side of the globe. The group of Philippine Islands discovered by Magellan in 1521 had ever since been subject to Spain, with the exception of the brief interval in 1762, when they were taken from her by England. The number of these islands is commonly stated all the way from 300 to 1400. In reality, there are about a dozen worth mentioning for size, while these are surrounded and intermingled with innumerable islets. Their name is taken from that odious king, Philip II., in whose reign a Spanish colony was first

organized there. The capital city, Manila, founded in 1571 upon the largest island, Luzon, has in our day a population of 300,000, while that of the whole archipelago is about 8,000,000. A large part of the population, belonging to the Malayan branch of the Mongol race, was long ago converted to the Roman Catholic faith and must now be regarded as civilized people. But within the limits of the islands may be found tribes differing in race and in grades of culture, almost as widely, perhaps, as the American aborigines differ from the white people of New England or Virginia.



FIG. 158.—Admiral George Dewey.

Spanish misgovernment in the Philippine Islands was much like Spanish misgovernment everywhere, and it was not strange that in 1896 the rebellion in Cuba should have been followed by outbreaks in the Philippines. The fighting was of a barbarous and atrocious kind. Toward the end of 1897 the Spanish government tried the same experiment which had proved successful in Cuba in 1878 and unsuccessful in 1897. They sought to hoodwink General Aguinaldo and other insurgent leaders by promising extensive reforms in return for a cessation of

hostilities. For the moment these overtures prevailed with the insurgents, but no sooner were their troops disbanded than Spanish officials perfidiously arrested several of the leaders and put them to death. So the insurrection again blazed forth and was flagrant in the spring of 1898. At that time a small American fleet under Commodore George Dewey (Fig. 158) was lying at Hong-Kong. Beside the cruiser *Olympia*, which was Dewey's flag-ship, it included the powerful cruisers *Baltimore*, *Boston*, and *Raleigh*, the gunboats *Concord* and *Petrel*, and the dispatch-boat *McCulloch*. The declaration of war made it necessary for this belligerent fleet to quit the neutral harbor of Hong-Kong; whereupon Dewey, in pursuance of orders from Washington, headed straight for Manila Bay. There the Spaniards had a well-stored navy yard and



FIG. 159.—Admiral Patricio Montijo y Pasaron.

there was a Spanish fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral Montijo (Fig. 159) and consisting of the heavy cruisers *Reina Cristina* and *Castilla*, four light cruisers, the *Antonio de Ulloa*, *Isla de Luzon*, *Isla de Cuba*, and *Velasco*, and the gunboats *Lezo*, *Duero*, and *El Correo*. About half-past five o'clock on the morning of May 1, Dewey attacked this Spanish fleet. For two hours his ships passed backward and forward along the Spanish line of battle, delivering their broadsides with terrible effect, but suffering so little annoyance in return that at half-past seven the men were allowed to leave their guns and take a comfortable and leisurely breakfast, after which, if anybody felt the need of a morning nap, there was surely time for it, for firing did not begin again until quarter past eleven. By half-past twelve the entire Spanish fleet was

at the bottom of the sea, with at least 1000 lives lost, while the Americans had lost but one man, who died of apoplexy brought on by the heat of the engine-room.

This battle of Manila was without a precedent in history with regard to the disparity of damage inflicted. The American fleet was unquestionably superior in tonnage, in the power of its engines, and the weight of its projectiles, and was entitled to expect victory. Yet the Spanish fleet, if used to the best advantage, was a formidable adversary; and aided as it was by a lively fire from the batteries ashore, it would not have been strange if it had inflicted serious losses upon the Americans



FIG. 160.—Major-General Wesley Merritt. (From an etching by Charles B. Hall, New York.)

and made them earn their victory at great cost. In point of fact, all the resources of the Spaniards were wasted by their inferior seamanship and wretched gunnery. Most of their great balls whizzed through the air and dropped hissing in the sea without hitting anything *en route*. On the other hand, the American firing was described by a French officer present as something positively awful for its rapidity and precision. On a larger scale, the lesson was similar to that taught by the *Constitution* and *Guerrière* and other frigate-duels of our second war with England. When the news of this victory reached Washington, Commodore Dewey was at once made rear-admiral, and steps were taken for the further ousting of Spain from the Philippine Islands. In the course of the

summer not less than 15,000 men were sent over under command of General Wesley Merritt (Fig. 160), while Admiral Dewey contented himself with the control of Manila harbor, and no attempt was made to take the city.

In the West Indies the earlier weeks of the war were occupied with the work of completing the blockade of Cuba and with the silencing of the batteries at San Juan de Porto Rico. The telegraphic cables connecting Cuba with the outside world, so far as they could be found, were lifted and cut, and in the course of this work skirmishes occurred



FIG. 161. —Admiral Pascual de Cervera y Topete.

at Cardenas and Cienfuegos with some loss of life. The fleet of Admiral Cervera (Fig. 161), which at the declaration of war was tarrying among the Cape Verde Islands, was obliged to depart from that neutral territory, and it set sail on April 29. This fleet consisted of four very powerful armored cruisers, the *Cristobal Colon*, the *Oquendo*, the *Maria Teresa*, and *Vizeaya*, together with three torpedo-boat destroyers, the *Furor*, *Terror*, and *Pluton*. About the middle of May it was learned that this Spanish fleet had appeared off the Dutch island of Curacao. This information so far relieved whatever anxiety was felt for our northern seaports that Commodore Schley with his Flying Squadron was ordered from Hamp-

ton roads to the West Indies. On the 18th of May his fleet met that of Admiral Sampson at Key West, and after a conference Schley continued through the Yucatan Channel to search the Caribbean Sea for traces of the Spaniards. Cervera's tether was limited, since Great Britain had declared coal contraband of war; and since coal must now be his chiefest need after his long Atlantic voyage, it was clear that he could only stop at some port in Cuba or Porto Rico.

Under such circumstances the search was not a long one. On May 19 the cruiser *Minneapolis*, entering the Caribbean Sea through the Windward Passage, had seen indications which directed her toward Santiago de Cuba, in the harbor of which her commander became convinced



FIG. 162.—View of Santiago Bay.

that Cervera was to be found with his fleet. By the last day of May it had become clear that this was the case; whereupon Schley's squadron at once occupied the approaches to the land-locked harbor, thus preventing the Spaniard's escape. The next day Admiral Sampson arrived with the *New York*, *Oregon*, and *Mayflower*, and took command of the operations. Before mentioning the operations which brought about the capture of Cervera's fleet, a few words should be devoted to the romantic exploit of Lieutenant Hobson and seven volunteer seamen with the collier *Merrimac*. The harbor of Santiago (Fig. 162) was surrounded by low hills crowned with batteries, and this circumstance was likely to create heavy odds against a hostile squadron entering the harbor. But

the entrance to the harbor was so narrow that scarcely more than one ship could pass in at a time. It occurred, therefore, to Lieutenant Hobson that by sinking a ship in this narrow passageway he might quite debar the Spaniards from coming out. He therefore proposed to take the *Merrimac* into the strait and break great holes in her side by exploding torpedoes, after which perhaps there was some chance for her men to escape while she was sinking. This daring feat was performed with the greatest skill and coolness. Hobson and his seven comrades had a hair's-breadth escape from death and fell into the hands of the enemy, who treated them with kindness and courtesy. The exploit, however, with all its gallantry, failed of complete success because an accident car-



FIG. 163.—Major-General William Rufus Shafter.

ried away the *Merrimac*'s rudder, so that she proved unmanageable and was set lengthwise instead of crosswise with the channel when the explosion occurred. The stoppage was therefore imperfect and still left it possible for ships to pass out, although doubtless it increased the difficulty.

The situation at Santiago was such as to require the co-operation of army and navy, so that now it became necessary to bring to this point the military forces which had been gathered at Tampa. The first force to arrive was the Fifth army corps under General Shafter (Fig. 163), together with the Seventy-first New York regiment, the Second Massachusetts, four regiments from Mobile, and several troops of cavalry from the regiment known as Roosevelt's Rough Riders. This was a cavalry force consisting of cow-boys from the Wild West, who were past masters

in horsemanship and in wild tactics. The Rough Riders were commanded by Colonel Leonard Wood, with Theodore Roosevelt (Fig. 164) as his lieutenant-colonel. In all, there were about 15,000 men, to which further additions were made from time to time. A force of Cuban insurgents some 3000 strong, under Calixto Garcia, arrived upon the scene. The month of June witnessed much desultory fighting, in the course of which the Rough Riders, and General Joseph Wheeler (Fig. 165), a



FIG. 164.—Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. (From photograph by Rockwood, New York.)

veteran who fought on the Confederate side in the civil war, won their due share of distinction; and at length in a spirited engagement which ended on the 3d of July, the Spanish positions were carried by storm and the heights about Santiago passed into the possession of the American army. This brilliant success put the city of Santiago at our mercy and sounded the knell of doom for Admiral Cervera unless he could contrive to take his fleet out of the harbor. It was a desperate attempt,

but the gallant admiral made it on the morning of July 3. He took some comfort from the fact that several of the American ships had disappeared, having sailed away on various brief and important errands. The cruiser Brooklyn, and the four great battle-ships, Indiana, Iowa, Oregon, and Texas, were left on blockade. The Brooklyn lay nearest and most exposed to assault. It was Cervera's hope to pounce upon and suddenly disable her, and then trust to the swiftness of his cruisers to elude the pursuit of the great battle-ships. Accordingly, toward the middle of the forenoon Cervera glided out past the sunken Merrimac in his flag-ship, the Maria Teresa, followed by the Vizcaya, the Oquendo,



FIG. 165.—Major-General Joseph Wheeler. (From photograph by Dupont, New York.)

the Cristobal Colon, and the smaller craft. The Spanish fleet was soon engaged with the Brooklyn and was receiving the damaging fire from the American battle-ships. Thus things did not happen according to Cervera's plan. If he had had American gunners, he might have carried out his scheme of disabling the Brooklyn; but as it was, most of his ammunition was wasted. A shell from the Brooklyn exploded in his own cabin and set the Maria Teresa on fire. Another from the Texas burst in the engine-room and broke one of the steam pipes. Holes were torn in the hull until the waves came pouring in, and when the order was given to man the pumps it was found that only dead men were left

in that part of the ship. The other Spanish ships received just as savage treatment, for the American battle-ships closed around them and poured in a fire against which nothing could stand. By an hour after midday, all was over. The Spanish ships were destroyed and 600 of their men killed. The Americans had lost one man killed and one wounded, and their vessels were scarcely scratched.

Famous battles often have their famous words by which they are remembered in history, and so it was with this naval battle of Santiago.



FIG. 166.—Lieutenant-General Nelson A. Miles. (From photograph by Rice, Washington.)

On the battle-ship *Texas*, as the men began cheering at the surrender of the Spaniards, Captain Philip exclaimed, "Don't cheer, boys, the poor fellows are dying," and the men instantly stopped.

The continued news of disaster, which it was impossible to keep from public knowledge, led to such riot and disorder in Spain that before the end of June it was found necessary to put Madrid under martial law. After the destruction of Cervera's squadron, the American navy was left at liberty to cross the Atlantic and threaten the coasts of Spain. There was but one other Spanish fleet, and that had started

under Admiral Camara by way of the Mediterranean and Red Sea for the Philippine Islands; but on July 5, as soon as the fatal news from Santiago had reached Madrid, Camara was ordered home for the defence of Spanish seaports. At Santiago a bombardment completed the work, and on July 17 the city was surrendered along with its Spanish army of occupation. Soon after this culmination, General Miles (Fig. 166) landed an army in Porto Rico, where he was received by the inhabitants with cordial welcome. Spain had arrived at the end of her resources, and could do nothing but accept the terms offered by the United States. She must acknowledge the independence of Cuba and withdraw her troops from that island; she must cede Porto Rico and whatever else was left her in the Antilles, to the United States, to whom she must also turn over one of the Ladrone Islands in the Pacific Ocean as a coaling-station. The question of the Philippine Islands was to be settled by negotiation, while the city of Manila was to be held by our troops. On these terms hostilities came to an end August 12, 1898; and on the ensuing day, before the news had reached the Philippine Islands, the city of Manila surrendered to Dewey and Merritt.

The commissioners appointed by Spain and the United States for drawing up a treaty of peace were convened at Paris on the first of October. The terms already mentioned were ratified, and in addition the Philippine Islands were turned over to the United States in consideration of \$20,000,000. This treaty was ratified by the United States Senate February 6, 1899. Thus was accomplished the ousting of Spain from her colonial empire in both eastern and western hemispheres.¹

The relinquishment of sovereignty of Spain over Cuba, the withdrawal of Spanish troops from the island on January 1, 1899, and the formal delivery of the island to the authorities representing the United States, made it the duty of Congress to fulfil the pledge given the previous April. The task was not an easy one. A temporary government, consisting of a Governor-General and a military governor for each of the seven districts on the island, had been established; but measures had now to be taken to aid the Cubans in creating such a permanent government as would justify Congress in turning over to the inhabitants of Cuba the management of their own affairs.

Politically and industrially, the condition of the people was one bordering on chaos. Plantations were in ruins, houses and mills had been burned, and the people who had been driven from the country were still huddled in the towns; the laborers, thousands of whom were in utter

¹ Dr. Fiske's work ends here. The following pages are by Professor McMaster.

destitution, showed little disposition to return to work; the currency was in a state of confusion, trade and commerce were gone, and, to make matters worse, the leaders were demanding that the United States pay \$60,000,000 to the soldiers who for three years had fought Spain. One of these leaders, Gomez, had even threatened that, unless the immediate independence of Cuba were declared, or a date fixed for such declaration, he would not disband the army.

President McKinley, by an executive order, disposed of the currency issue, but consent to the disbanding of the Cuban army was secured with difficulty. The Cubans proposed that the United States pay in full the wages due the soldiers, and that the revenues of the island be pledged for repayment. The United States declined to loan so great a sum, but offered, instead, \$3,000,000 as a gift to the insurgents in recognition of their services in holding the Spaniards in check in the early days of the war. To this Gomez at last agreed, but his act was repudiated by those leaders who denied his authority to speak for the army, by those who held that the Cuban troops should remain under arms until the future of Cuba was fully settled, and by the Assembly, which removed him from command. The money, however, was by that time on its way to Cuba, the troops were inclined to accept the proposed terms, and in May the work of distribution began. Each soldier who surrendered his arms and promised to return to his home received seventy-five dollars, and the arms given up were deposited with the mayors of municipalities until sent to the arsenals at Havana and Santiago, there to be preserved as relics of the war for liberation.

Such Spaniards in Cuba as wished to remain subjects of Spain were now enrolled, pardon was extended to all offenders against the military law of Spain, a census of Cuba was taken, the seditious tendency of the press was curbed by the suppression of one journal, and by holding editors and proprietors personally responsible for the contents of their newspapers; reforms in legal procedure and in the administration of prisons were set on foot, education was reorganized, yellow fever well-nigh driven from the island, and by means of a Cuban relief fund, raised in the United States, agricultural implements, tools, seeds, provisions, and clothing were purchased and distributed to needy Cubans. General Leonard Wood was made military governor, a cabinet composed of Cubans was appointed and the work of preparing the island for an independent political existence was begun. A first step toward this desideratum was in the form of an order from General Wood specifying the qualification for the exercise of the franchise, and fixing a

day for the holding of municipal elections over all the island. Any Cuban, or any Spaniard who had declared allegiance to Cuba, might vote if he could read and write, or owned real or personal property to the value of \$250, or had served in the Cuban army before July 18, 1898, and been honorably discharged.

When the nominations for office were declared three parties took the field. One, the National, was made up of old soldiers and their followers; a second, the Republican, was composed of bitter opponents of American influence, and a third, the Democratic Union, represented the conservative and wealthy element, who were suspected of leaning strongly toward annexation to the United States, a suspicion that forced a withdrawal of its candidates. The Australian ballot system was used, and the elections were everywhere quiet and orderly.

The completion of the census, from which it appeared that the island had a population of 1,572,797, made it possible to take the next step—an order for the election of delegates to a convention to frame a constitution for the new republic. The convention was to consist of thirty-one members, apportioned among the provinces according to population. The election was held in September, 1900, and on the fifth of November the delegates were called to order, in Havana, by the Military Governor of Cuba. Their first duty, he told them, was to frame a constitution that would ensure a stable, orderly, and free government; their second, to state what, in their opinion, ought to be the relations between the United States and Cuba. The work of framing the constitution was completed in February, 1901; a work which, coupled with the appointment of a committee to draft a project concerning relations with the United States, made it proper for the American Congress to express its views.

That the position of the United States might be quite clear to the Cubans Senator Platt moved an amendment to the army appropriation bill requiring Cuba to embody in her constitution provisions, or pledges, that no treaty that placed the independence of the island in jeopardy should ever be made; that no loans should be contracted unless revenue was available to pay the interest and sink the principal; that the United States might intervene to preserve Cuban independence or protect life and property; that public health must be protected by sanitary measures; that coaling stations should be sold or leased to the United States, and that the ownership of the Isle of Pines should be settled later. Objection to these amendments was made by Cuba, and a committee came to Washington to discuss them; but their reasonableness was so

apparent that in June the Platt Amendment became part of the Constitution of Cuba.

The Constitution so modified was adopted, and on January 1, 1902, electors of President were chosen. By them, in February, Estrada Palma was elected President, and on May 20th the American flag was lowered with appropriate ceremonies, the United States army was withdrawn, and the government and the island of Cuba were delivered into the hands of its people.

Cuba, having become an independent power, no longer subject to American rule, the question of commercial relations rose into serious importance. The Dingley tariff rates were then in force against her, and our markets, because of her particular products, were practically closed to Cuba. To give her independence, restrict her financial and political powers by the Platt Amendment, and then close our markets and leave her to shift for herself was grossly unjust. Politically she stood to us in a relation unlike that of any other foreign power. She should, therefore, stand in a commercial relation unlike that of any other foreign power. She was to some extent within the scope of our national policy, and she ought, therefore, to come within that of our economic policy. A reciprocity treaty was accordingly negotiated and laid before the Senate. It provided for a uniform reduction, by the United States, of twenty-five per cent. on the duties on all imports from Cuba, and reductions by Cuba of forty, thirty, and twenty-five per cent. on her duties on specified articles imported from the United States. But the sugar interests were at once in arms. The interests of the Sugar Trust would best be served by producing such distress in Cuba that annexation to the United States would become necessary. Cane-sugar would then come in duty free. The beet-sugar interests would best be served by shutting out Cuban sugar entirely by high tariff rates. The struggle with these powerful interests prevented ratification until the special session of the Senate in March, 1903, when the treaty was approved by the Senate, provided Congress consented, for, as it was practically a bill affecting revenue, it was deemed necessary, under the Constitution, that the House should also approve it.

The delay, of course, worked great hardship to Cuba, and when that republic had given her consent to the treaty President Roosevelt summoned Congress in special session in November, 1903, to take the steps necessary to put it in force. "A failure to enact such legislation," said the President, "would come perilously near a repudiation of the pledged faith of the nation." A bill embodying the principles of the treaty eventually passed the House.

While peace negotiations were under way at Paris, in 1898, it became quite clear that Aguinaldo and his followers expected that the Philippines would be placed on the same footing with Cuba.

Aguinaldo was a native of Luzon; he had passed his boyhood in the house of a Jesuit priest, studied in the medical department of the Pontifical University at Manila, and in 1888 had gone to Hong Kong. When, in 1896, the rebellion broke out in Cuba, Aguinaldo with others organized a revolt in the Philippines. As the Spanish forces were then gathered in Cuba, Spain compromised with the Filipinos and promised to pay a certain sum of money, and prosecute no offender, if the insurgents would lay down their arms and the leaders leave the Philippines never to return. The terms were accepted, and in January, 1898, Aguinaldo with other leaders returned to China. The blowing up of the Maine and our declaration of war soon followed, and Aguinaldo was taken back to Manila by Admiral Dewey. Both he and his associates claimed that our consul assured them that the Philippines would be treated as we had promised to treat Cuba. When, therefore, the treaty was signed at Paris, Aguinaldo organized a quasi-government, issued a proclamation protesting against American occupation, declared that the promise of independence had been violated, and called on the insurgents to continue the struggle.

The issue was then transferred to Washington, where, for more than a month, the ratification of the treaty was before the Senate. What should be done with the Philippines now became the question of the hour. On the one side were the anti-expansionists, the anti-imperialists, opposing acquisition, denying our right to govern people without their consent, and insisting that we should help the Filipinos to establish a stable government, and then turn the islands over to them. On the other hand were those who believed that the Philippines should be retained, that in the government to be set up the Filipinos should be given as large a share as might seem expedient, that the final disposition of the islands should be left for settlement in the future, and that no pledge, or promise, of ultimate independence should be made at present.

As debate on the treaty went on in the Senate these views found expression in three resolutions: One, offered by Senator Bacon, declared that the United States had not waged war for conquest, but for the purposes set forth in the declaration; that it was not the intention of the United States to rule the Philippines as part of the territory of the United States, or incorporate the inhabitants as citizens of the United States, or hold them as vassals; that when we declared war the inhabit-

ants of the Philippines were engaged in a struggle for independence and had not abandoned it; that, therefore, in recognition of the great principle that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, the United States recognized that the Filipinos ought to be free and independent, and that when an independent government entitled to recognition was established, the United States would transfer to it all rights secured from Spain, and leave the government and control of the islands to their people. Another resolution, offered by Senator Vest, set forth the doctrine that under the Constitution of the United States no power is given to the Federal Government to acquire territory to be held and governed as colonies. A third, by Senator Mason, declared that the government of the United States would not attempt to govern the people of any other country in the world without the consent of the people themselves, or subject them by force to dominion against their will.

The real question before the Senate was the ratification of the treaty, and not the manner in which the Philippines should be governed when acquired. The islands were not ours until the treaty had been ratified by us and by Spain. Ratification committed the country to no policy, no method of governing. The debate, however, centered largely on the form of government to be established and the status of the Filipinos under it; on the ability of the people of the islands to set up a stable government, and on the character of that which Aguinaldo claimed to have established. By February, 1899, the indications were that the treaty would be ratified if its friends would support a resolution to the effect that ratification did not commit the United States to a declaration of any future policy. Just at that time, however, conditions in the Philippines suddenly changed.

The proceedings in Congress had been watched with great interest by Agoncillo, Aguinaldo's representative at Washington, and when, early in February, it became quite certain that the Senate would consent to the ratification of the treaty, word was sent to Aguinaldo.

On the night of February 4th Aguinaldo made war on the United States, suddenly attacking our troops at Manila. The Filipinos were beaten and finally driven to the swamps and hills, where they carried on a guerrilla war during the whole year. Ere the year was ended, however, the Filipino Congress and Secretary were prisoners and Aguinaldo was a fugitive in the mountains.

Opponents of the treaty now insisted that if Congress had defined its policy and passed a resolution putting the Philippines on the same

basis as Cuba an appeal to arms would not have been made. The friends of the treaty retorted that if the Senate had not delayed and hesitated, but had promptly ratified the treaty, the Filipinos would have seen the folly of resistance, would not have taken up arms, and would have been more likely to appeal to the sympathy of our people as friends than they could ever do as enemies. The duty of the Senate was to ratify at once, secure the islands, restore peace and order and let Congress decide upon the form of government to be established and upon the relation in which the Philippines should stand to the United States.

In this state of the public mind the vote on ratification was taken. Two Senators who had hitherto opposed the treaty now cast their votes in favor of it, and it was ratified with one vote to spare.

The treaty ratified, the question of policy was at once taken up and a resolution introduced by Senator McEnery to the effect that the ratification of the treaty did not make the inhabitants of the islands citizens of the United States, nor permanently annex the islands as an integral part of the territory of the United States, but that it was the intention of the United States to establish a government suitable to the wants and conditions of the people of the islands, prepare them for local self-government, and in due time make such disposition of the islands as should seem best for the interests of the citizens of the United States and the people of the Philippines. To this Senator Bacon offered an amendment. The United States, so read his resolution, disavowed any intention to exercise permanent sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over the islands, and would, when a stable and independent government had been established, transfer to it, on just and reasonable terms, all rights secured under the cession by Spain, and leave the government and control of the islands to their people. After considerable debate the Bacon amendment was lost by the casting vote of the Vice-President, and the McEnery resolution was passed by a majority of four.

On March 17th Spain ratified the treaty, the Philippines passed into the possession of the United States, and on April 4th the Philippine Commission issued a proclamation. This body had been appointed by the President, in January, to act, with Admiral Dewey and General Otis, as an advisory board, and now, at the outset, it sought to define clearly the proposed policy of the United States. The supremacy of the United States was to be enforced, but an honest and effective civil government was pledged; the civil rights, religious freedom, and equality before the law of the Filipinos were guaranteed; elementary schools were to be established; reforms in all branches of the public service,

PLATE XIV.



William McKinley.

From a photograph by Gutekunst, Philadelphia.

pure and speedy administration of government, the honest use of money raised by taxation, roads, railroads, and better means of transportation, and the development of foreign and domestic trade were promised.

These pledges and promises, however, had no effect on the insurgents in the Philippines nor on the anti-imperialists at home. In July Aguinaldo issued an appeal to the Powers of Europe; to this there was no response. He claimed that the Filipinos had acquired the sovereignty of the islands before our treaty with Spain was made; that the insurgents held 7000 Spanish prisoners; that, by surrounding Manila for months, they aided in forcing its surrender; that they had been allowed to take arms from American storehouses; that Aguinaldo's authority had been recognized by British, American, and Belgian consuls when they came to him for passes, and that letters from American generals, acknowledging Filipino sovereignty, could be produced. At a notable meeting of anti-imperialists, at Cambridge, resolutions were adopted denouncing the "conquest of alien people in distant lands," complaining of the degradation "of the American flag into an emblem of subjugation and vassalage," and demanding that the war should cease and that the islands should "be organized as an independent republic, possessing its separate flag, under the temporary protection of the United States," and that the administration "proclaim to the Filipinos its willingness to treat with them at once on a basis of equality and conciliation."

The policy of the administration toward the Philippines was announced by the President in his annual message in December, 1899. "As long," said he, "as the insurrection continues the military power must necessarily be supreme." He could see no reason, however, why steps should not be taken to set up local government as rapidly as the territory was acquired and held by our troops. For this purpose, therefore, he appointed a new commission of five, "to continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities." These commissioners were to proceed to Manila, make themselves familiar with the conditions of the country, and begin with the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives should, as far as possible, be given an opportunity to manage their own affairs. This accomplished, the work of organization should be carried to larger divisions, corresponding to counties or provinces, and whenever, in the opinion of the commissioners, the condition of the islands became such that the general administration might safely be transferred from military to civil control, this fact was to be

reported to the Secretary of War and recommendations made as to the form of central government to be established. On the first of September all legislative power, such as making rules in the nature of laws for raising revenue by taxes, customs, and imposts; for establishing courts, municipal governments, a civil service, and schools, was to be transferred from the military governor to the commission.

All this was done so speedily and so well that the President, in his annual message, was enabled to state that business was improving, railroads expanding, and that a fund of \$6,000,000, created by the military administration, was available for public improvements.

While the affairs of Cuba and the Philippines were being adjusted in the manner described, Porto Rico had not been neglected, and in the spring of 1900 the House Committee on Ways and Means reported a bill regulating the tariff. It proposed to lay on all goods imported into the island from the United States, and on all imported into the United States from Porto Rico, one-quarter of the tariff levied on imports from foreign countries, and use the money so derived for the exclusive benefit of the island.

A constitutional question of great interest at once arose. The Constitution provides that "all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." How, then, it was asked, could any duties be levied on goods brought from Porto Rico to New York or Philadelphia, when no duties were levied on fruit brought to the same ports from California, or on tobacco from Virginia? The majority of the committee took the ground that the annexation of Porto Rico did not make it part of the United States; that it was not under the Constitution, that its political and economic rights were not determined by that instrument, that Congress was free to legislate as it saw fit, and that without the tariff the island could not support itself and obtain the needed schools, roads, and improvements. The minority held that the Constitution followed the flag, that even in legislating for territories or possessions Congress was restrained by the Constitution, and in the matter of tariff must treat Porto Rico as it did the States and territories. The bill was finally changed into a relief measure, the proposed tariff was reduced from twenty-five to fifteen per cent. and limited to two years, and in this form the bill passed the House. The Senate made some amendments in which the House concurred, and the bill became a law. Besides establishing a tariff, the act provided a form of civil government, to be exercised by a Governor, Executive Council of eleven, of whom five must be Porto Ricans, and a House of Delegates of

thirty-five members. A commissioner, elected by popular suffrage, resides in Washington as a representative of Porto Rico, but has not a seat in Congress.

The question as to whether our island possessions—Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines—were or were not under the Constitution was virtually decided by the Supreme Court in what are known as the “five insular cases.” In the first of these insular cases the question was whether goods imported from Porto Rico after the ratification of the Spanish treaty and before the passage of the Porto Rican Act of April, 1900, were subject to duty. The court ruled that they were not, because the territory was not foreign soil, and because, at the time of importation, no duties had been laid by Congress. On the other hand, where goods had been imported into Porto Rico from the United States after July 26, 1898, and before the ratification of the treaty ceding the island, and taxed under military orders, the court held the duty as lawfully collected. When a case arose to test the legality of the Foraker act imposing on goods from Porto Rico a duty of fifteen per cent. of the Dingley rates, the court sustained the act. In the case of Hawaii, goods brought in after annexation and before the Act of April, 1900, were declared non-taxable. The Philippine case grew out of the seizure of fourteen diamond rings brought in by a soldier returning from Manila. The Court ruled that the treaty of peace made the islands domestic territory, and that the Dingley tariff did not apply.

Another group of islands in the Pacific to which our attention was drawn during the spring of 1899 were the Samoan, a group of fourteen volcanic isles inhabited by about thirty-six thousand people. For years they were ruled by the two royal houses of Malietoa and Tubua, but in 1881, by an agreement between Great Britain and Germany, Malietoa was made king and Tamasese vice-king. Revolutions and counter revolutions followed, sometimes one king and at times the other, ruling, until 1887, when Tamasese was proclaimed king by Germany, and Malietoa was carried off on a German warship and confined on another island. The supporters of the exile now took up arms under the lead of Mataafa, and in 1888 they were attacked by Germany, their village bombarded, martial law proclaimed, and American and British residents arrested and treated with indignity.

Germany then asked for the co-operation of the United States. The request was granted on condition that complete independence of Samoa be declared, a condition carried out by the Berlin treaty of 1889. The signing powers, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States, guaran-

teed the neutrality of the islands, gave their subjects and citizens equal rights of residence, trade, and protection, recognized the right of the natives to elect their king, established a supreme court to be named by the three powers, and recognized Malietoa as the king.

The death of the king soon after was followed by the election of Mataafa and the protest of his rival, Tamasese, who charged fraud in the election. The Chief Justice thereupon declared Malietoa Tanus king, and the next day the followers of Mataafa rose and defeated the



FIG. 167.—Map of the Insular Possessions of the United States.

army of Malietoa. The German consul was charged with aiding and abetting Mataafa, and the American and British consuls adjourned the Supreme Court and locked the door, whereupon the German consul broke it open and declared himself the court, and to the war between the natives was now added a quarrel between the Germans, on the one hand, and the British and Americans, on the other.

While affairs were in this state the British cruiser *Porcupine* and our warship *Philadelphia* were sent to enforce the Berlin treaty, and at the

suggestion of Germany a Joint High Commission was appointed to go to Samoa and pacify the inhabitants. Mataafa meantime led his army to attack Apia, and in April a landing party, British and American, were ambushed and several officers and men were killed. On receipt of the news of the appointment of the Joint High Commission, however, an armistice was arranged and fighting ceased pending the arrival of the commissioners. The latter reached Samoa about the middle of May, sustained the decision of the Chief Justice, persuaded Malietoa Tanus to resign, and recommended the abolition of the kingship and the appointment of a single administrator with a council of three delegates from Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. The plan was not carried out, but later in the year Great Britain withdrew and the islands were divided between Germany and the United States, and Tutuila, Ofoo, Olosenga, and Manua were delivered to us.

Another Joint High Commission, whose labors were futile, had been sitting in Washington for the purpose of adjusting some long-standing disputes with Canada. Among the subjects, twelve in number, were alien labor laws, the transit of merchandise in bond, the fur seals, mining rights, the coast fisheries, reciprocity of trade, the duty on lumber, revision of the old agreement regarding armed vessels on the Great Lakes, and, most serious of all, the boundary of the pan-handle of Alaska. By a treaty made between Russia and Great Britain in 1825 the line of demarcation was defined to be the crest of the mountains parallel to the coast from 56° north latitude to the intersection of the mountain range with 141° of west longitude. But where the mountain summit should be more than ten marine leagues (thirty miles) from the ocean, the boundary line was to run "parallel to the windings of the coast," and never be more than ten leagues therefrom. This seems clear enough, and would probably never have become the subject of dispute had it not been for the discovery of gold in the Klondike regions. While this great gold-field lies in British America, the passes that lead to it are most easily reached through the Lynn Canal, a long and narrow body of water that extends back from the ocean about sixty miles. On one arm is Skaagway, whence run the trails by Chilkoot Pass and White Pass to the Klondike. Another arm, called Pyramid Harbor, gives access to the trail to Dalton. To get possession of this canal, and so secure access to the ocean free from American control, Canada claimed it was not a part of the open sea, that the boundary did not run parallel to its shores, but crossed it ten leagues from its mouth. We contended that the line went entirely around the canal ten leagues

from its shore. The Canadians further contended that the line should not go up the Portland Canal nor be ten leagues from the inner coast.

Finding it impossible to agree on a boundary line, our commissioners proposed to lay aside this question and proceed with the discussion of the others. The Canadians, taking the position that with no boundary there would be no settlement of any issue, refused, and the commission adjourned to await the adjustment of the boundary by Great Britain and the United States. After some discussion between the two govern-



FIG. 168.—Map of Alaska.

ments a *modus vivendi* for two years was agreed upon for the provisional making of the line about the head of the Lynn Canal, and the issue was, for the time being, adjusted.

Alaska, however, needed the serious attention of Congress on other questions. The finding of gold had increased the population, and cities had sprung up with thousands of inhabitants, and yet there was no law under which municipal government could be set up and maintained.

Save in Congress, there was no authority to enact any law, however local, trivial, or important. In some settlements the people had come together, assumed powers of government, formed a municipal organization, adopted some form of constitution, appointed officials, and enacted ordinances establishing schools, a police force, a fire department, and a department of health. In Hawaii matters were almost as bad. Annexation in 1898 had destroyed the independence of the republic and vested its sovereignty in the United States, but Congress had grossly neglected to exercise the authority so acquired. The public land could not be sold to settlers, the jurisdiction of the United States courts was not extended to the islands, and serious difficulties had arisen over the right of the



FIG. 169.—Map of Hawaii.

Chinese to enter and depart, over questions of patent and copyright, registration of vessels, tonnage duties, and elections. A bill to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii had been presented in December, 1898, but Congress was too busy discussing government for the Filipinos to give any thought to government in Hawaii and the year 1899 closed and saw nothing accomplished. In 1900, however, Hawaii was organized as a territory and given a delegate in the House of Representatives; all persons who were citizens of Hawaii, when the island was annexed were declared citizens of the United States, and all Chinese laborers on the islands were forbidden to enter any State, territory, or district in our country.

The annexation of Hawaii, the famous voyage of the Oregon around

South America, and the acquisition of Guam, Wake, and the Philippines, brought to the attention of the country, as never before, the commercial and military importance of procuring an Isthmian canal. The innumerable projects since 1825 for cutting such a waterway by private corporations, and the serious attempt and failure of two French companies to dig a canal, proved conclusively that the work could never be finished by individual enterprise. Some government must build it, and that government must be the United States. In March, 1899, therefore, the President was authorized to appoint a commission to examine both the Nicaragua and the Panama routes and report on the cost of a canal to be built by the United States. The Nicaragua Canal Commission, which had been at work on surveys of that route since 1895, was thereupon dissolved, the Isthmian Canal Commission was appointed, and for the first time in our history the solution of the problem was seriously begun.

At the outset, however, there were more than physical obstacles to overcome. A contract had been made by Nicaragua with a corporation known as the Maritime Canal Company, concessions had been granted to certain other parties by what was called the Eyre-Crogin option, and in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 provisions were embodied which, if Great Britain refused to cancel, might prevent the building of the canal by the United States. The first obstacle was overcome by Nicaragua declaring that the rights of the Maritime Canal Company had been forfeited because of non-fulfilment within the ten years stipulated in the contract, and that those of the Eyre-Crogin option had been forfeited because of failure to pay the advance required.

The articles in the treaty of 1850 were next abrogated by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, laid before the Senate in February, 1900. This provided that the canal might be constructed under the auspices of the United States, and that it should be neutralized by the adoption of the rules, formulated in 1888 by Great Britain and certain other Powers, to secure the free navigation of the Suez Canal. The Senate Committee reported the treaty with an amendment providing that these rules should not apply to such measures as the United States might find necessary to take for securing, by its own forces, the defence of the United States and maintenance of public order. So evident was it, however, that the treaty neither with nor without amendment could be ratified, that its friends secured postponement of action until the next session of Congress. The House meantime passed the Hepburn Canal bill, authorizing the President to acquire from Nicaragua and Costa Rica control of such

territory as might be necessary for canal purposes, and, when obtained, to direct the Secretary of War to begin the construction of the canal, appropriated ten million dollars with which to commence the work, and one hundred and forty millions for its completion. This also the Senate made its special order for the tenth of December, 1900.

In December, accordingly, the Senate took up the Hay-Pauncefote treaty and the Nicaragua Canal bill. Three amendments to the treaty were made, declaring the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 suspended; authorizing the United States, if necessary, for its own defence and the preservation of public order, to use force on the canal; and omitting a clause providing for bringing the treaty to the notice of other Powers and inviting them to adhere to it. The Monroe Doctrine made the omission necessary and proper.

Thus amended, the treaty was ratified by the Senate late in December. But in March, 1901, Lord Pauncefote informed Mr. Hay that Great Britain could not accept the alterations.

In South America during 1900 many of the little republics had been the scenes of strife and revolution. In Venezuela Castro had thrown down the government of Andrade, and, supported by the army, had set up a provisional government of his own. In Bolivia an insurrection had resulted in placing General Pando in power; another, under General Reyes at Bluefields, on the Mosquito Coast, had been quieted by Nicaragua; and another, in the island Republic of Santo Domingo, had resulted in the death of President Henreaux, the establishment of a provisional government by the insurgents, and the election of their leader, Juan Isidro Jimenez.

In marked contrast to these scenes of petty strife in the Philippines, in Samoa, in South America, and the unseemly wrangling of Canada was the meeting of the Peace Conference in the Netherlands in the House in the Woods near The Hague.

The Czar proposed as subjects of discussion: That there be no further increase in military and naval forces; that the use of new fire-arms be prohibited; that the use of existing explosives be restricted, and the employment of submarine torpedo-boats be forbidden; that vessels employed in saving lives during an engagement be declared neutral; that the laws of war as laid down by the Brussels Conference in 1874 be revised, the stipulations of the Geneva convention to naval war be applied, and mediation and arbitration be accepted. For the discussion of these grave questions the conference was divided into three sections—one on disarmament, another on the laws of land and naval

war, and the third on mediation and arbitration, and three agreements or covenants were reached and left open for signature by the Powers until 1900. One forbade the use of asphyxiating gases, projectiles dropped from balloons, and expanding bullets. The second revised and brought down to date the laws of war proposed by the Brussels Conference. The third provided for mediation and the establishment of a permanent court of arbitration before which cases might be brought on consent of the disputants. When acceding to this last convention, our delegates guarded our position by making a declaration that nothing in it should ever be so construed as to require us to depart from our traditional policy of not entangling ourselves in the political affairs of any foreign state, nor be so interpreted as to imply a relinquishment by us of our traditional attitude toward purely American questions.

In foreign affairs the all-absorbing event of the year for us, and, indeed, for the whole civilized world, was the rising of the Chinese Boxers. For many years the steady introduction of European methods and customs into China had been the cause of a growing animosity of the Chinese toward foreigners. The building of railroads and telegraphs, the appearance of steamboats on the rivers, the gradual penetration of merchants and missionaries into the interior of the country, seemed to the Chinese to foretell the ruin of the customs, institutions, and political life of their country. Resistance took the form of inflammatory appeals to the ignorant masses. Threatening placards calling for the destruction of foreigners and foreign products appeared everywhere. Missionaries were slain, the property of alien residents destroyed, and a secret society, known as the Boxers, which had for its object the expulsion of the foreign "devils," became so active in the provinces north of the Yangtse that outside of the treaty ports no foreigner was safe. The whole country, from the coast to Peking, and all Manchuria to the borders of Russia, was in possession of the Boxers. Alarmed at the power of the society, at the inability and indisposition of the government to interfere, the Powers of Europe, in the spring of 1900, proposed that a demonstration be made by assembling a combined fleet in Chinese waters. In this we participated, and, in common with the other Powers, sent a guard to our legation at Peking and attempted to land a force at Taku to keep open communication with the Chinese capital. The attempt to land was resisted, the Chinese forts fired on the allied fleet, were shelled by the vessels, and two days later were carried by storm. Communication with Peking was now severed, an

advance force sent by the Pei-Ho was checked by overwhelming numbers at Langfang, and the legations were cut off completely.

The Yamen thereupon ordered all foreign ministers to leave Peking. To gain time the latter asked for an interview with the Yamen, and when no reply was made, the German minister, Baron von Ketteler, set out to visit the Yamen and was murdered while on the way. The quarters of the legations were next attacked, the mission compounds were abandoned, and Europeans, guards, and ministers sought refuge in the British legation, which was quickly put in a state of defence and besieged by Boxers and imperial guards. Relief was now hurried forward by all co-operating governments and the city of Tien-Tsin was attacked, stormed, and partly destroyed. With this as a base the final advance was begun early in August by a combined force of British, Russian, Japanese, and Americans. A victory was won at Yang-Tsun, Ho-si-woo was taken, the city of Tung-Chord surrendered without a blow, and on August 14th Peking was reached. A short struggle followed before the combined army, led by our troops, entered the city. The legations were saved, but the imperial family had fled. The scenes of looting that followed were a disgrace to European civilization, and that our troops took little or no part in these robberies is a credit alike to officers and men.

Negotiations for peace and indemnity followed the capture of Peking, and in November the terms agreed to by the allies were announced. China was to erect a monument on the spot where Baron von Ketteler was killed and send an imperial prince to Germany with an apology; indemnity was to be paid States, corporations, and individuals; the Yamen was to be abolished and its functions vested in a foreign minister; the forts at Taku and on the coast were to be destroyed; permanent guards maintained at the legation; reasonable intercourse with the Emperor permitted, and expiatory monuments set up in every foreign cemetery where the graves had been profaned. When the year ended, the Powers were about to present these demands to the Chinese government.

Our policy, as defined in a circular note to the Powers on July 3d, was to bring about the permanent safety and peace of China, preserve her territorial and administrative entity, protect all rights secured to friendly Powers by treaty, and safeguard, for the world, equal and impartial trade or the "open door" in China.

In the midst of these exciting events in foreign lands the time came to elect another President. Ten parties entered the campaign, and put forward candidates or indorsed those nominated by others. They were

the Republicans and the Silver Republicans ; the Democrats and the Social Democrats ; the Fusionist People's and the Middle-of-the-road People's ; Prohibitionist and United Christians, Socialist Labor, the Nationalist Party, and the Anti-imperialists, who made no nominations, but urged the election of Mr. Bryan. Various as were their purposes, they had much in common, and their platforms afforded a fair summary of the social, industrial, and political issues that agitated the public mind. Several called for a graduated income and inheritance tax ; government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones ; State ownership of public utilities ; popular election of senators ; the referendum and initiative ; and denounced trusts and private monopolies, and demanded the abandonment, or ultimate independence, of the Philippines. The Democrats advocated the building of the Nicaragua Canal, denounced the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, called for the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1, and nominated William J. Bryan. The Republicans declared for an Isthmian Canal, the gold standard, a department of commerce, and the open door in China ; promised Cuban independence, and indorsed the policy of the administration in the Philippines, in Samoa, and in Hawaii, and renominated William McKinley. (PLATE XIV.) Nearly fourteen million votes were cast, of which Mr. McKinley received more than seven millions and Mr. Bryan more than six millions.

The result of the election was a sore blow to Aguinaldo. After living in hiding at Palanan for some months, he decided, in February, 1901, to again take the field, and sent out letters to his chiefs bidding them send him a force of men. The bearer of the despatches delivered them into American hands, and General Frederick Funston at once formulated a plan for the capture of Aguinaldo. With a band of Macabebes, a Tagalog, a Spaniard, some ex-officers of the insurgent army, and a few American officers and men Funston was taken by the Vicksburg from Manila to Casiguran Bay. Once ashore, the Macabebes assumed the character of a force marching to Palanan in obedience to the call of Aguinaldo ; the Americans represented a surveying party that had been surprised and captured, and the Tagalog became the commander in charge. Making its way in this disguise through jungle and morass, the party reached Palanan, surprised and captured Aguinaldo and his officials, and brought them to Manila on the Vicksburg. There the insurgent leader took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and in April issued a manifesto announcing his allegiance. The result was the surrender of a number of important leaders and another step was taken toward quieting the island.



President Theodore Roosevelt.

(From a photograph by Park, New York.)

On March 4, 1901, when President McKinley was sworn into office a second time, the only foreign complications that still troubled the administration were the Alaskan boundary and the Isthmian Canal. In the settlement of these grave issues the President, unhappily, was doomed to have no further part. In September he attended the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo, and there, at a public reception, he was shot by an Anarchist and died on September 14, 1901.

Theodore Roosevelt (PLATE XV.) was at once sworn into office as President of the United States, and on him rested the duty of bringing to a happy settlement the controversy with Great Britain over the boundary and the canal. Both questions had received most serious attention, and when Congress met in December, a second Hay-Pauncefote treaty, signed in November, was laid before the Senate and soon ratified.

The Isthmian Commission, meantime, after nearly three years' work, was about to report, and the way was clear for the passage of a bill providing for the construction of a canal. The commission favored the Nicaragua route chiefly because the new Panama Canal Company of France asked \$109,000,000 for its rights, franchises, property, and work done, all of which the commission considered was worth not more than \$40,000,000. The French company thereupon offered to sell out at the price named by the commission. This put a new phase on the matter. The commission was reassembled, made a new report, and unanimously recommended the Panama route. The House of Representatives, however, passed the Hepburn bill, instructing the President to acquire from Costa Rica and Nicaragua the land and authority necessary to build a canal to cost not more than \$180,000,000. In the Senate, where the Panama route had many warm advocates, the bill was amended, and, when approved by the President, authorized him to obtain from Colombia a strip of territory six miles wide, buy the rights and property of the Panama Canal Company, and proceed with the construction of a canal by that route. Should he be unable to secure concessions from Colombia, he was to apply to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and, if successful, begin the building of the canal by that route.

As required in the act, Secretary Hay (Fig. 170) began negotiations with Colombia, and soon found serious stumbling-blocks in the questions both of bonus and of annual rental. We offered \$100,000 a year. Colombia demanded \$600,000 a year, and when this was refused, proposed to submit the question to The Hague tribunal. A compromise was at last effected on the basis of a cash payment of \$10,000,000 and a yearly rental of \$250,000, to begin at the end of nine years. In this form the

treaty was sent to the Senate in January of 1903, and ratified at the extra session in March. Nevertheless, the treaty, though negotiated under the eye of the President of Colombia and ratified by our Senate, was unanimously rejected by the Congress of Colombia. That the purpose of the party in control was to obtain more money, both from the French company and from the United States, there can be no reasonable doubt. In this, however, it was defeated, for early in November the municipal council of Panama declared the State of Panama an independent republic,

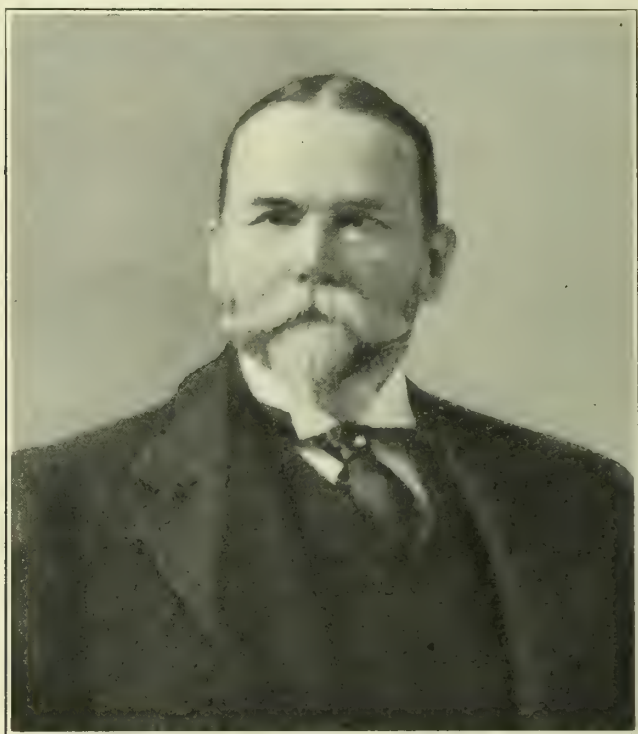


FIG. 170.—John Hay. (From a photograph by Clinedinst, Washington, D. C.)

the unpaid troops joined in the movement, and the Republic of Panama was established under a provisional government. This government was promptly recognized by the President, and an offer was at once made to us to negotiate a canal treaty.

When laid before the Senate this instrument provided for a guarantee of the independence of the Republic of Panama, for the use, occupation, and control by us in perpetuity of a strip ten miles wide from sea to sea, and extending three nautical miles into the sea at each terminal. The cities of Panama and Colon were not included in the canal zone, but the

United States was to be responsible for their sanitation and, if need be, for the maintenance of order. The sum of \$10,000,000 was to be paid Panama for the zone, and at the end of nine years an annual rental of \$250,000.

Great opposition to the treaty was made and the conduct of the President severely criticized. The refusal of Colombia, it was held, left him no choice, but made it his duty, under the law, to open nego-



FIG. 171.—Map of Panama.

tiations with Costa Rica and Nicaragua. His recognition of the independence of Panama, it was claimed, had been too hasty. It was even asserted that had it not been for the certainty of recognition by the United States there would have been no revolution in Panama. The President defended and explained his action in a special message in February, and the Senate ratified the treaty. Ratifications were at once exchanged, the treaty proclaimed, an Isthmian Canal Commission

appointed to take charge of the construction of the canal and the government of the zone, and an act passed by Congress to provide a temporary government. The formal transfer of the property rights of the Panama Canal Company took place at Paris in April, and in May the company, by a warrant on the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, was paid \$40,000,000.

A second treaty that reflected great credit on Secretary Hay provided for the settlement of the Alaskan boundary by a commission of six men, three to be appointed by each government. The refusal of our government to comply with the Canadian demand for arbitration had put an end to the labors of the Joint High Commission, and had so offended Great Britain that at one time it seemed likely to defeat the attempt to suspend or supersede the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and hinder the construction of the Isthmian Canal. From this position both Canada and Great Britain were led, by the tact and diplomacy of the Secretary, to waive the demand for arbitration and submit the issue to settlement by six men, without a seventh as arbitrator or referee. No finer example of the confidence of each side in the justice and fair dealing of the other could possibly be afforded. The convention was signed in January, 1903, and in September the commissioners met in London. Of the three appointed by Great Britain, two were Canadians, and the third, Lord Alverstone, was Lord Chief Justice of England. That the Canadians and the Americans would adhere to the claims so strongly maintained by their respective governments was a foregone conclusion. Indeed, several of them had already committed themselves to certain views. The trial, therefore, was really before the Lord Chief Justice, who decided in favor of every claim set up by the United States.

During the five years which had elapsed since the war with Spain, domestic issues had been overshadowed by foreign complications and the discussion of insular problems. They had not, however, been overlooked. The extraordinary industrial development of the country had brought about a new economic condition—corporations engaged in the same business in various parts of the country united to form a single corporation, popularly called a trust. From a few, chartered under the New Jersey law in 1898, they increased so rapidly in number that by 1902 there was scarcely an industry of any kind that had not formed a trust. Some 850 such industrial combinations were then in existence, with a capital of not less than nine billion dollars.

These immense aggregations of capital, which tended to destroy the cost of competition, of manufacture, of selling, and to maintain prices,

were denounced as monopolies. Some attributed their existence to the tariff and called for a radical revision of the Dingley rates. Others held that the trusts were the natural and inevitable result of economic conditions and demanded State or national regulation.

In the State party platforms of 1902, therefore, tariff revision and the trusts held a prominent place. In thirteen Republican and ten Democratic State platforms demands were made for anti-trust legislation, and in thirteen Republican and eight Democratic platforms for reform in the tariff, often designated "the breeder of trusts" and "the prolific mother of trusts." In his annual messages the President touched on these issues, and the national parties made them the subjects of planks in their platforms in 1904. No legislation in this direction has, however, followed.

The parties presenting candidates for President in 1904 were the Democrats, the Republicans, the Socialists, the People's Party, the Socialist Labor, the United Christian, the National Liberty, the Prohibition, and the Continental. In their platforms all the ills, real and fancied, that afflicted or were supposed to afflict the most prosperous country in the world were stated, and legislative remedy demanded. Money, the tariff, transportation, trusts and corporations, the race problem, universal suffrage, government ownership of railroads and telegraphs, and State ownership of public utilities are but a few of the many issues that were presented. The real candidates were: For the Republicans, Theodore Roosevelt and Charles W. Fairbanks, and for the Democrats, Alton B. Parker and Henry G. Davis. Roosevelt and Fairbanks were elected by a great popular and electoral vote. While the returns were still coming in the President announced that "Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination."

During the early part of 1905 foreign affairs once more claimed attention. A series of arbitration treaties, made with Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Portugal, Italy, Mexico, and Denmark, stipulating that the contracting parties agreed to submit to arbitration all claims for pecuniary damages or loss, were so amended by the Senate that the President declined to ask the respective powers for ratification. A reciprocity treaty with Newfoundland was so amended to suit New England fishing interests that Newfoundland has begun to retaliate. There is trouble with Venezuela over the claims of our citizens for damages, and because of the insulting and defiant attitude of President Castro. An attempt of the President, at the request of Santo Domingo, to arrange a protocol by which the United States should collect the rev-

enues of the Dominican Republic and use fifty-five per cent. of them to pay its debts was deferred by the Senate to the extra session, and did not then become the subject of final action.

As the summer approached, the attention of the world was again drawn to our country by the efforts of the President to bring about peace between Russia and Japan. The long series of Russian defeats on land, and the signal victory of Admiral Togo over the Russian fleet in the Sea of Japan, made all civilized nations most anxious to see an end of the shedding of blood in the Far East. From no power could the suggestion of peace come with better grace than the United States. France was the ally of Russia; England the ally of Japan. Germany was suspected of a leaning toward Russia; but the attitude of the United States Government toward each belligerent was that of friendship and good-will. On June 7, therefore, after formal conferences between the President, the Japanese Minister and the Russian Ambassador, an identical note was sent to Tokio and St. Petersburg. In it the President expressed his earnest wish for peace, urged the two powers "not only for their own sakes, but in the interest of the whole civilized world, to open direct negotiations for peace with each other," and offered his services in arranging the preliminaries as to the time and place of meeting. Japan accepted the proposal in less than two days, Russia in less than a week, and, after some discussion as to whether the meeting should be at Paris, The Hague, Chefoo, or Geneva, the city of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was chosen. On August 5th the President introduced the plenipotentiaries; on August 9th the sessions of the conference began, and Japan presented her terms of peace in the form of twelve demands. Eight were accepted by Russia; but those for an indemnity, for the surrender of vessels interned in neutral harbors, the limitation of Russia's naval power in the Far East, and the surrender of the Island of Saghalien were firmly refused. A deadlock ensued but was finally broken by Japan accepting half the Island of Saghalien and compensation for the maintenance of Russian prisoners, and waiving her demands for indemnity, the interned vessels and the limitation of Russian naval power in the East. These obstacles removed, peace was assured and a treaty was signed early in September.

ANALYTICAL CONTENTS.

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MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW WORLD.

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